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The Relationship between Moses and Elijah in Ancient Judaism

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The Relationship between Moses and Elijah
in Ancient Judaism

THÈSE DE DOCTORAT

présentée à la

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pour l'obtention du grade de

Docteur en théologie

par

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MADAME TERESA SCARSO

Intitulée

The Relationship between Moses and Elijah in Ancient Judaism

Sans se prononcer sur les opinions de la candidate.

La Faculté de théologie et de sciences des religions, conformément à ses usages, ne décerne aucune mention.

Lausanne, le 7 décembre 2021

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To my aunt AnnaMaria
וְהֵייתְךָ עֲטֹרַת תְּפָאֲרוֹת בְּיַד־יְהוָה וְצַנּוֹף מְלוּכָה בְּכֹר־אֱלֹהִים:

(Isa 62:3)

1. Abbreviations

AAJR	American Academy for Jewish Research
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
AJSR	Association for Jewish Studies Review
ALUOS	Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BDB	<i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. Oxford, 1907
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> . Edited by Karl Elliger and Willhelm Rudolph. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BibInt	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
<i>Bib</i> WTBM	Bible World Tentmaker Bible Mission
BIS	<i>Biblical Interpretation Series</i>
BiTS	<i>Encyclopédie des messianismes juifs dans l'Antiquité</i> , Biblical Tools and Studies
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBET	<i>Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCWJWCW	Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 B.C. to A.D. 200
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSSAFY	<i>The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment</i> . Edited by James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint. 2 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998–1999

DSSR	<i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader</i> . Edited by Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov. 6 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004–2005
DSSSE	<i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition</i> . Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar. 2 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997–1998
EDSS	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000
ESCJ	<i>Studies in Christianity and Judaism/Études Sur Le Christianisme et Le Judaïsme</i>
HALOT	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament: Study Edition</i> . Ludwig Kohler and Walter Baumgartner. 2 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001
HBT	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
HDSS	<i>The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . Elisha Qimron. HDSS 29. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986
Hen	<i>Henoch</i>
HO	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
HS	<i>Hebrew Studies</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	<i>Harvard Theological Studies</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IDS	<i>In die Skriflig</i>
ISBE	<i>International Standard Bible Encyclopedia</i> . Edited by G. W. Bromiley. 4 vols. Grand Rapids, 1979–1988
JANESCU	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JE	<i>The Jewish Encyclopedia</i> . Edited by I. Singer. 12 vols. New York, 1925
JJTP	<i>Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
Joüon-Muraoka	<i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> . P. Joüon, T. Muraoka
JPSTC	JPS Translation Commentary
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSIJ	<i>Jewish Studies Internet Journal</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism: Supplement Series

JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
JTSA	<i>International Journal of Bible, Religion and Theology in Southern Africa</i>
JUDAISM	<i>Judaism</i>
MdB	<i>Le Monde de la Bible</i>
LASBF	<i>Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani</i>
NAC	New American Commentary
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NKJV	New King James Version
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
Numen	<i>Numen: International Review for the History of Religions</i>
OTL	<i>Old Testament Library</i>
OTS	<i>Old Testament Studies</i>
OtSt	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy
PPFBR	Publications of the Perry Foundation for Biblical Research in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Proof	<i>Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History</i>
QC	<i>Qumran Chronicle</i>
RechBib	<i>Recherches bibliques</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
RRJ	<i>Review of Rabbinic Judaism</i>
RTP	<i>Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie</i>
SBLAIL	Society of Biblical Literature of Ancient Israel and his Literature
SBLANEM	Society of Biblical Literature of Ancient Near East Monographs
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSCSt	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SDSSRL	Studies in Dead Sea Scrolls & Related Literature
SEC	<i>Semitica et Classica</i>
SHBC	Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary

SKG.G	Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft /Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Studies Monograph Series
StTDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigraphica
Théo	<i>Théologiques</i>
Transeu	<i>Transeuphratène</i>
TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

2. Introduction

At first sight, Moses and Elijah appear in Ancient Judaism as two different figures without any relationship. This view corresponds to the biblical narrative in which they do not belong to the same period. However, in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Rabbinitics some links appear between them. My thesis aims to investigate and characterize the nature of these relationships.

I chose to analyse the writings of Qumran and Rabbinitics, because I was interested by the mystery of Qumran, and Rabbinic world. About Qumran, I felt that these writings open new outlooks on the biblical landscape. There is a different view to interpret the biblical history. If, on the one hand, many of the Dead Sea Scrolls are largely outside biblical and rabbinic contexts, on the other hand they share some peculiarities. Rabbinic approach to the biblical text is different from Christian exegesis. However, they are both functional and involve two distinctive methodologies. The Christian exegesis is generally devoted to a single scholar while there is a collective study exercised simultaneously by Sages in the Rabbinic writings. Nevertheless, these ones are interesting because there is a multidimensional thought that often is explained with biblical quotations. Therefore, the Sages give a distinct interpretation from the biblical one. For that, I will focus myself on an analytical approach of texts before comparing them. Thus, I will analyse Moses and Elijah separately, and then together putting them in parallel. Following this structure, it will be possible to go step by step in seeking to have a significative textual sample. The same setting will be applied to a selection of Rabbinic texts. They will be presented according to the usual alleged periods of compilation: Mishna and Tosefta, Palestinian/Yerushalmi Talmud, and Babylonian Talmud. Finally, Qumran and Rabbinitics will be put in parallel in order to understand the (potential) links between Moses and Elijah in Ancient Judaism. These relationships have not been clearly identified in the previous scholarship. Moses and Elijah are often studied in the New Testament, but in other areas they are studied separately or not all. Before undertaking this investigation, it is appropriate to examine the characters of Moses and Elijah in their respective biblical environments, as they already share some points of continuity even though they lived in different epochs according to the biblical story.

2.1. Some features of Moses in the Hebrew Bible

Moses is the preeminent figure in the Torah. The book of Exodus begins with his birth (Exod 1-2) while the book of Deuteronomy ends with his death (Deut 34). Therefore, the life of Moses involves all of the Torah.

In the history of Moses, he appears as a multitasker, embodying multiple roles including king, shepherd, mediator, lawgiver, prophet, priest, intercessor, man of God, and servant. These are all functions that he performs at different times in his life. According to the culture of the Near East, royalty is an expression of deity:¹ when Moses brings the Israelites out of Egypt he acts as a shepherd, an attribute that is often synonymous with royalty. In two episodes God orders Moses to act as a god: with Aaron (Exod 4:16) and with the Pharaoh (Exod 7:1). In this latter case, God makes Moses aware that he will be stronger than the Pharaoh because God acts through him. Mediation is also a royal role, and Moses was a great mediator between God and the people of Israel. Moses is the intermediary for the Torah: on Mount Sinai the Lord utters the Torah to him. In my opinion this is one of most important points about Moses, because the expression תורת משה, *Torat Moshe*, implies association between the Torah and Moses.

D. Lambert² asserts in relation to this that the formula תורת משה, *Torat Moshe*, not only implies the Laws that God gave to Moses on Mount Sinai but is also a mixture of law and narrative as in the Pentateuch. However, in Deuteronomy Moses writes down the Torah (31:24); in Malachi there is: זכור תורת משה “Observe the Torah of Moses” (3:22); and Ezra and Nehemiah encourage the people of Israel to return to their faith with public readings of the Torah of Moses (Neh 8:1-8). Therefore, as D. Lambert continues,³ the Torah of Moses is both Law and a narrative that is a way to instruct the people in their relationship with God. According to S. Japhet,⁴ the Law of Moses is clearly identified with Divine Law understood as absolute and immutable and originating on Mount Sinai.

It is written that when Moses came down to the camp from the mountain, the skin of his face was radiant (Exod 34:29). J.L. Koosed,⁵ argues that Jerome in the Vulgate translates the Hebrew word קָרָן, *qaran* that means “radiant” or “shining,” with the verbal form *qèrèn* that means “horns”. This difference is relevant, even though in both cases it implies change, as in Near East cultures horns were a symbol of a particular closeness to God.⁶ T. Römer⁷ notes that in the same episode the people have built the Golden Calf, and when Moses appears with horns like a bull, he seems to be comparable to the Golden Calf. This parallel might confirm that in Moses there is an element of divinity. In the same vein, J.L. Koosed⁸ explains that the horns symbolize divinity and incorruptibility. Moreover,

¹ T. RÖMER, Opening the Books of Moses, in D.V. EDELMAN - P.R. DAVIES – C. NIHAN - T. RÖMER eds., *Bible World 1* (Sheffield/Bristol, 2012) 157.

² D. LAMBERT, “How the ‘Torah of Moses’ Became Revelation,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period* 47/1 (2016) 26.

³ D. LAMBERT, “How the ‘Torah of Moses’ Became Revelation,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period* 47/1 (2016) 27.

⁴ S. JAPHET, “Law and ‘The Law’ in Ezra-Nehemiah,” in D. ASSAF ed., *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1985) 100-101.

⁵ J. L. KOOSSED, “Moses: The Face of Fear,” *Biblical Interpretation* 22 (2014) 417.

⁶ T. RÖMER, *Les Cornes de Moïse. Faire entrer la Bible dans l’histoire* (Paris, 2009) 7.

⁷ T. RÖMER, *Les Cornes de Moïse. Faire entrer la Bible dans l’histoire* (Paris, 2009) 7.

⁸ J. L. KOOSSED, “Moses: The Face of Fear,” *Biblical Interpretation* 22 (2014) 418.

the horns of animals were used to anoint kings, prophets and priests.⁹ This metaphorical understanding strengthens the image of Moses. However, T.B. Dozeman¹⁰ argues that Moses wears a mask, traditionally used in rituals in primitive cultures. After describing the scene in which Moses removes his veil before God to receive the revelation and transmit it to Israel and then covers his face. T.B. Dozeman¹¹ observes that a mask is often used in order to have two different identities. For Moses, the veil marks a separation between him and the people of Israel. Moses expresses his authority to the people, and he separates the profane from the holy. In this way, Moses employs his authority: he represents God and he acts in name of God before all the community.

The role of Moses as mediator is not limited to the transmission of the Torah, because Moses is identical to the Torah, the Torah was given only to him, and no other prophet received it. In fact, after Moses, the Torah will be called תורת משה the Torah of Moses¹².

Moses also appears as a prophet, with a role different from that of other prophets. The Scripture says that God took from Moses a part of spirit that was upon him and then put it upon seventy elders of Israel (Numb 11:17). God confirms the prophetic gift of Moses with power and admonishes Aaron and Miriam who are jealous of Moses. God tells them that Moses is a faithful servant, and he speaks with Moses (פה אל־פה), “mouth to mouth” not in vision but in presence (Numb 11:4-8) in the Tent of Meeting or on Mount Sinai. God will also say: ולא־קם נביא עוד בישראל כמשה אשר: “But since then there has not arisen in Israel a prophet like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face” (Deut 34:10). According to T. Römer,¹³ this Deuteronomistic affirmation means that, for the redactor of the Pentateuch, Moses is a prophet at a higher level than others. Moses is the first prophet of Israel, he conducts the people out of Egypt, and he prays and intercedes with God for the people. The Israelites are not able to hear the voice of the Lord, and they delegate Moses to speak directly with Him (Exod 20:19). Moses is the only one who can talk with God.

Another peculiarity of Moses in the Hebrew Bible is that, unlike the fathers, he does not have any offspring who will continue his work but, after him, Joshua will take over and will make the Israelites enter into the Promised Land. As T. Römer notes,¹⁴ the editor of the Pentateuch does not show interest in the sons of Moses, as they seem to disappear from the narrative. This point is very interesting because Moses could be identified as the father of Israel. Throughout his history, Moses plays a paternal role and sometimes even God is jealous of the relationship between Moses and the

⁹ 1 Sam 16:1; 1 Kgs 1:39.

¹⁰ T. B. DOZEMAN, “Masking Moses and Mosaic Authority in Torah,” *Journal Biblical Literature* 119/1 (2000) 24.

¹¹ T. B. DOZEMAN, “Masking Moses and Mosaic Authority in Torah,” *Journal Biblical Literature* 119/1 (2000) 28-29.

¹² Josh 8:31,32; 23:6; 1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 14:6; 23:25; Mal 3:22; Dan 9:11, 13; Ezra 3:2; 7:6; Neh 8:1; 2 Chr 23:18; 30:16.

¹³ T. RÖMER, Opening the Books of Moses, in D.V. EDELMAN - P.R. DAVIES – C. NIHAN - T. RÖMER eds., *Bible World 1* (Sheffield/Bristol, 2012) 164.

¹⁴ T. RÖMER, Opening the Books of Moses, in D.V. EDELMAN - P.R. DAVIES – C. NIHAN - T. RÖMER eds., *Bible World 1* (Sheffield/Bristol, 2012)170.

people (Exod 32:7; 34:10; Deut 9:12). At end of his life, Moses sees the Promised Land from Mount Nebo, and the Lord says to him לזרעך אתננה “I will give it to your descendants” (Deut 34:4). This affirmation corroborates Moses’ fatherhood of the people of Israel.

Moses died on Mount Nebo and was buried by the Lord. It is written that ולא ידע איש את־קברתו “No one knows his grave to this day” (Deut 34:6). The death of Moses remains a mystery because there are several different interpretations among scholars;¹⁵ however, the specific burial by God distinguishes Moses from others. If, on the one hand, the death of Moses creates a bond between him and Israel, on the other hand, his burial remains uncertain, because no one knows the place. God takes care of Moses directly, as throughout his life. Moses forcefully enters into the life of the people and then God draws him back. At the end, the people will enter into the Promised Land.

2.2. Some features of Elijah in the Hebrew Bible

A. van de Beek¹⁶ writes that, in the Hebrew Bible, after the Torah that is symbolized by Moses comes the Prophets in which the great exponent is Elijah the Tishbite. Moses and Elijah sometimes appear together because the role of Elijah is also tied to the Torah. A prophet is one who is called by God to apply the Torah to the people of Israel. Moreover, the history of Elijah presents some assonances with that of Moses because Elijah is also a multifaceted figure.

In the biblical accounts, there are no specific indications about the origins of Elijah. It is possible to know that he is called the תִּשְׁבִּי “Tishbite” (1 Kgs 17:1): according to S.J. De Vries,¹⁷ this word is not a location, but means “settler”. The history of Elijah begins with his announcing to king Ahab the coming years of drought. Because of this God tells Elijah to go away to the east of the Jordan (1 Kgs 17:3). Elijah is fed by ravens that bring him bread and meat (1 Kgs 17:6). Afterwards, Elijah goes to Zarephath where he stays in the house of a widow and performs two miracles: the widow who is without food will have plenty of flour and oil (1 Kgs 17:14-16); the son of the widow will be brought back to life (1 Kgs 17:17-23). In these tales, it can be noted that Elijah begins his prophetic office by

¹⁵ Often the death of Moses seems tied to his wrongs, see M. NOTH, *Numbers* (London, 1968) 144; W.H. PROPP, “The Rod of Aaron and the Sin of Moses,” *JBL* 107 (1988) 19-26; B.A. LEVINE, *Numbers 1-20* (New York, 1993) 483-484. However, some scholars have a different opinion, see G. KUGLER, “Moses died and the people moved on: A hidden narrative in Deuteronomy,” *JSOT* 43/2 (2019) 191-204; G.W. COATS, *Moses: Heroic Man, Man of God* (Sheffield, 1988) 151.

¹⁶ A. Van de BEEK, “Moses, Elijah and Jesus: Reflections on the Basic Structures of the Bible,” *Die Skriflig/In Luce Verbi* 46/1 (2012) 4.

¹⁷ S.J. De VRIES, *1 Kings* (Waco, 1985) 216.

practising extraordinary actions. Moreover, as N. Glover¹⁸ asserts, Elijah's actions show that he is tightly bound up with God.

However, N. Glover¹⁹ also affirms that, on other occasions, Elijah acts without the word of God even though God stays near the prophet. In one example, the prophet challenges the prophet of Baal on Mount Carmel and all the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal die (1 Kgs 18:20-40). Then Elijah flees into the desert and desires to die because he is discouraged, but God sends an angel to make him eat and drink. Elijah journeys for forty nights and forty days and arrives at Horeb. Here, Elijah has a theophanic experience: he speaks with God Who reveals Himself in a דממה דקה "still small voice" (1 Kgs 19:3-18). According to G. Russell,²⁰ Elijah acts out of jealousy against the people, because he is the only prophet of God on Mount Carmel: all the prophets of Baal are allied with the people, and he is the only one who is faithful to God. It seems that, on Mount Carmel, Elijah takes the place of God: he judges the prophets of Baal and the people from his human perspective. Elijah is not able to intercede for the people and the prophets of Baal: he has words of condemnation. However, God recognizes his zeal and encourages him to proceed with his journey.

After these episodes Elijah will meet Ahab who usurps Naboth's vineyard when Naboth is stoned and dies (1 Kgs 21:1-29). In the name of God Elijah prophesies to Ahab that his family shall die, and the dogs shall eat them. Ahab fasts and wears sackcloth. The Lord returns to speak to Elijah, saying that because Ahab has humbled himself before Him, the calamity will come later, to the house of his son (1 Kgs 21:27-27). Ahab dies and the dogs lick up his blood as in the word of God (1 Kgs 22:38). Ahabaziah son of Ahab becomes the king of Israel (1 Kgs 22:51) and, like his father, he worships Baal. Elijah is sent from God to announce to the messengers of the king, a captain and his fifty men, that Ahabaziah will die. Elijah sends fire from heaven, and the fire consumes the messengers. Then Ahabaziah also dies (2 Kgs 1:1-18).

The history of Elijah is often placed alongside that of Moses because their stories are similar: this topic will be investigated in next few pages. However, as N. Glover asserts,²¹ Elijah has a special relationship with God because he sometimes transgresses the rules even though he does not receive a punishment.

¹⁸ N. GLOVER, "Elijah versus the Narrative of Elijah: The Contest between the Prophet and the Word," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 30/4 (2006) 455.

¹⁹ N. GLOVER, "Elijah versus the Narrative of Elijah: The Contest between the Prophet and the Word," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 30/4 (2006) 456.

²⁰ A.J. HAUSER – G. RUSSELL, "From Carmel to Horeb," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament - Supplement Series* 85 (1990) 145.

²¹ N. GLOVER, "Elijah versus the Narrative of Elijah: The Contest between the Prophet and the Word," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 30/4 (2006) 460.

Before the end of his life, Elijah meets Elisha and throws his mantle over him (1 Kgs 19:19); this image describes the direct succession from Elijah to Elisha. T. Collins²² suggests that Elisha is not a disciple of Elijah, but is as if a continuation of Elijah, and that this situation occurs only with these two prophets. Elisha begins his prophetic office only after the departure of Elijah. However, before the episode of the mantle, Elisha asks Elijah for a double portion of his spirit (2 Kgs 2:9). His request is satisfied after the departure of Elijah, who is taken up to heaven by a whirlwind (2 Kgs 2:11). Elisha takes the mantle that was Elijah's and when he strikes the waters of Jordan with it they are divided (2 Kgs 2:13-14). This changing of the mantle marks the delivery of the prophetic role to Elisha who has received the spirit of Elijah.

The whole history of Elijah revolves around extraordinary events. Also, his return to the world is unknown: according to the prophet Malachi, the return of Elijah is expected before the Day of the Lord (Mal 3:23). In Malachi 3:23-24 we find:

הִנֵּה אֲנִי שֹׁלֵחַ לְכֶם אֶת אֵלֵי הַנְּבִיִּים לִפְנֵי בּוֹא יוֹם יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא. וְהָשִׁיב לְבָאֲבוֹת עַל־בְּנִים וּלְבָנִים עַל־אֲבוֹתָם כִּי־אָבּוֹא וְהִכִּיתִי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ חָרָם.²³

“Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he will turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to the fathers. Lest I come and strike the land with destruction” (Mal 3:23-24).

S.D. Snyman²³ argues that there are four reasons for the choice of Elijah rather than any other prophet:

- Elijah fights against the worship of Baal and he tries to lead the people of Israel to YHWH;
- Elijah defends social justice: in the episode of the vineyard of Naboth he is against Ahab and Jezabeel. There is a link here with the words of Malachi in which Elijah will turn fathers towards their children. Elijah has the task of reconciling younger and older generations. The reference to the fathers could be not only in genetic sense, but also have a metaphorical meaning. S.D. Snyman suggests that in the Hebrew Bible only Elijah has this role. No other prophet has this task;
- Elijah does not die, for he is expected to return to complete the last mission;
- Finally, the assertion of Malachi could be tied to a decline of prophecy, with Malachi hoping for the return of a prophet who had already appeared.

It should be noted that Malachi starts the previous verse with a reminder not to forget the Torah of Moses (Mal 3:22). In this context, Malachi connects Moses to Elijah because Elijah was

²² T. COLLINS, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetic Books* (Sheffield, 1993) 136.

²³ S.D. SNYMAN, “Malachi 4:4–6 (Heb 3:22–24) as a Point of Convergence in the Old Testament or Hebrew Bible: A Consideration of the Intra and Intertextual Relationships,” *HTS* 68/1 (2012) 4.

modelled on Moses.²⁴ These verses of Malachi are the only ones in which Moses and Elijah appear together in the Hebrew Bible.

After having traced the most salient points relating to Moses and Elijah in the Hebrew Bible, it is natural to ask the following questions: What are Moses and Elijah in the texts of Qumran and in the Rabbinic writings? Do they retain the same specific characteristics? Are they contrasted, in competition or complementary? Do they appear together or separately? All these questions are legitimate and will be investigated in this work.

²⁴ T. COLLINS, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetical Books* (Sheffield, 1993) 137.

3. Chapter 1 – Moses and Elijah in Qumran

3.1. Introduction

It is not easy to study Moses and Elijah in the writings of Qumran, because they are present in many of the texts but never together: always separately. For this reason, there is a need for comprehensive examination of the ways they are treated.

First, it is necessary to talk about Moses and Elijah in the Hebrew Bible, their characters and what makes them unique. T.C. Römer²⁵ affirms that in Exodus 3 Moses is a super-prophet even though not explicitly; in Exodus 7:1 he is a god for the Pharaoh, and Aaron is designated as prophet for Moses. In Numbers 11:24-29 Moses is compared to a prophet but he is not defined as a prophet. Nevertheless, the author of Deuteronomy 18:15 defines Moses as a prophet and every prophet is like a “new Moses”; in this case the origin of prophetic office is rooted in the revelation on Mount Sinai/Horeb. According to Exodus 19-20 and Deuteronomy 5, on Sinai/Horeb the people ask for a mediator because they are not able to hear the word of the Lord, but the mediation does not mention that it is delivered by a prophet.

Moses is a leader, a mediator (Deut 5:5; 27), and a lawgiver-prophet because YHWH gives him the laws for the people (Exod 24:3), the precepts for life (Exod 24:7),²⁶ but he is also an interpreter of the

²⁵ T.C. RÖMER, “Moses, Israel’s First Prophet, and the Formation of the Deuteronomistic and Prophetic Libraries,” in M.R. JACOBS – R.F. PERSON Jr., eds., *Israelite Prophecy and the Deuteronomistic History, Portrait, Reality, and the Formation of a History*, Society of Biblical Literature. Ancient Israel and Its Literature 14 (Atlanta, 2013) 129-145.

²⁶ See A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 38, n. 68: YHWH revealed himself to Moses for the safety of the people of Israel (Exod 3:7). Moreover, Moses is often a prophetic lawgiver, in fact in Lev 24:10-23 and Numb 15:32-36 Moses gives appropriate punitive measures; in the first case he accuses the people of blasphemy, and in the second case he accuses the people for gathering sticks on the Shabbat. In both situations Moses asks God how to proceed. Often Moses receives legislative revelations in the Tent of Meeting (e.g. 1:1).

law.²⁷ Moses is a priest-prophet.²⁸ C. Nihan²⁹ points out that in Numbers 12:6-8, when Miriam and Aaron turn against Moses, the Lord calls Miriam, Aaron and Moses out of the Tent of the Meeting and tells them that Moses is much more than a prophet, because the Lord speaks with him פה אל־פה “mouth to mouth and not in dark speeches”.

In the same way, in Deuteronomy 34:10-12 the Lord knows Moses פנים אל־פנים “face to face” to indicate the superiority of the revelation.

The history of Elijah is placed in the Historical Books of the Hebrew Bible, and specifically in 1 Kings 17-19; 21 and 2 Kings 1-2. H. Gunkel³⁰ explains that the history of Elijah is composed in 1 Kings 17 by three stories that were initially separated (17:2-6, 7-16, 17-24); then in 1 Kings 18 the principal event is the story of Mount Carmel; while 1 Kings 19 is marked by the theophanic event on Mount Horeb. Finally, in 1 Kings 21:20-29 there is the foretelling of the fall of the house of Aḥab and in 2 Kings 1-2 the principal event is the calling of Elijah from the heavenly fire.

More specifically, Elijah is a typical prophet of Israel who reveals the will of YHWH: he commands human obedience to divine promise, and he condemns king Aḥab and the people for their religious infidelity (1 Kgs 17:1; 18:18; 21:20-22; 2 Kgs 1:16). Elijah is also a miracle worker and a powerful intercessor (1 Kgs 17:1,16; 2 Kgs 1:10,12; 2:8).³¹

There are many parallels between Moses and Elijah. YHWH feeds Elijah (Exod 16:8, 12; 1 Kgs 17:6) as He did Moses. While Moses gathers all Israel at the foot of Mount Sinai (Exod 19:17), Elijah gathers Israel at Mount Carmel (1 Kgs 18:19). On the same mountain, Elijah builds an altar (Exod 24:4; 1 Kgs 18:31), then he draws near to YHWH (Exod 24:2; 1 Kgs 18:36). As Moses combats the magicians of the Pharaoh (Exod 7:8-13, 20-22; 8:1-7), so Elijah combats the prophets of Baal (1

²⁷ In Deuteronomy after the commandments there are a series of homilies by Moses. These homilies concerning the chapters 6-11 in which Moses explains their meanings and implications; instead in chapters 12-26, there are the statutes and ordinances. Moses in the book of Deuteronomy thirty-six times, states: “I command you.” D.M. BEEGLE, “Moses,” in D.N. FREEDMAN, ed., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 4, *Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary* (New York/Doubleday, 1992) 909-918.

²⁸ In Exodus 24:4-6 Moses built an altar, and he dashed the altar with the blood; and in Deut 33:8 he is connected with the Urim e Thummim that are only of priestly use. Again, in Lev 8:10ff Moses anointed Aaron and his sons, as commanded by God. According to G. von RAD, *Teologia dell'Antico Testamento* (Brescia, 1972) 335: these are priestly roles that find also explanation in the account of the gold calf (Exod 32:4ff) in which Moses appears in contrast with the priestly figure of Aaron. Moreover, G. von RAD also emphasises that in Exodus 4:16 Moses plays the role of Elohim for Aaron who will be the mouth of Moses for the people of Israel. Again, Moses is a different prophet because in Numbers 11:25ff he appears as a super-prophet because the Lord drew upon the spirit that was upon Moses and put it upon the 70 elders that were in the mountain (See von Rad, 336). T.C. RÖMER, “Moses, Israel’s First Prophet, and the Formation of the Deuteronomistic and Prophetic Libraries,” in M.R. JACOBS – R.F. PERSON Jr., eds., *Israelite Prophecy and the Deuteronomistic History, Portrait, Reality, and the Formation of a History, Society of Biblical Literature. Ancient Israel and Its Literature*, Society of Biblical Literature 14 (Atlanta, 2013) 129: the book of Deuteronomy gives a strong image of Moses in fact in Deut 18; 34:10-12 Moses appears distinct from the other prophets that cannot compare to him.

²⁹ C. NIHAN, “Un prophète comme Moïse (Deutéronome 18,15): Genèse et relectures d'une construction deutéronomiste,” in T. RÖMER, ed., *La construction de la figure de Moïse. The Construction of the Figure of Moses*, Transeuphratène. Supplément 13 (Paris, 2007) 62.

³⁰ H. GUNKEL, *Elias, Jahve und Baal* (Tübingen, 1906) 46-47.

³¹ J.T. WALSH, “Elijah,” in D.N. FREEDMAN, ed., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 2 (New York, 1992) 464.

Kgs 18:20-40). Again, just as Moses and Aaron go up with the elders of Israel to the mountain of theophany and eat and drink before YHWH (Exod 24:9-11), Elijah invites Aḥab to go up the mountain to eat and drink (1 Kgs 18:41).³² Like Moses, Elijah fasts for forty days and forty nights (Exod 34:28; 1 Kgs 19:8). The angel of the Lord appears to Moses and Elijah in a bush in the wilderness (Exod 3:2; 1 Kgs 19:5). While Moses stands on the rock and YHWH shields him with his hand so that Moses can only see the back of the Lord (Exod 33:21-22), Elijah hides his face in his mantle when the Lord passes near him (1Kgs 19:9-13). The theophanic events of both Moses and Elijah are characterized by wind, fire, and earthquake (Exod 19:16-20, 20:18; Deut 4:11; 5:22-27; 1 Kgs 19:11-12). Before his death, Moses appoints Joshua as his successor, while Elijah appoints Elisha³³ (Deut 34:9; 2 Kgs 2:15). Finally, another parallel is the tradition about the death of Moses and the disappearance of Elijah (Deut 34:1-6; 2 Kgs 2).³⁴ Moses was buried in the valley of Moab and nobody knows the place because the Lord buried him (Deut 34:6); while Elijah was translated to the heavens by the Lord Who *תשליכוהו באחד ההרים או באחת הגיאות* “cast him upon some mountain or into some valley” (2 Kgs 2:9-18). All these similarities between Moses and Elijah create more connections in the field of prophecy and eschatology. These last points are the principal topics of this work in relation to the *Yahad*. It is therefore necessary to explain the meaning of prophecy in the Hebrew Bible, and then in Qumran. Consequently, an analysis of the figures of Moses and Elijah and their role in the Qumran writings is required.

In the Hebrew Bible, there are several terms for a prophet, with different specific meanings, such as *נביא* (*nābī*) translated in the Septuagint by the Greek word *prophētēs* (prophet), which means “one who speaks on behalf of” or “to speak for” “speak before,” a “forthteller” and spokesman as well as a “foreteller” and prognosticator. Other terms are *חזה* (*ḥozeh*), and *רא* (*ro'eh*) that mean both “seer”; *איש האלֹהים* (*'ish ha-'Elohim*) that means “man of God” and *עבד* (*'ebed*) that means “servant”.³⁵ In Hebrew texts prophets are addressed by all these names, in different situations.³⁶ Concerning *עבד*

³² J.B. SHAVER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of Second Temple Period* (Chicago, 2001) 59.

³³ Both the Hebrew Bible and the Qumran texts emphasize Joshua as successor of Moses. For example, in fragments 4Q378 3 and 14 are accounted the death of Moses and the succession of Joshua defined as a new leader of the people of Israel. Concerning Elijah and Elisha, only in 4Q481a 2 is mentioned that the spirit of Elijah was upon Elisha. In this latter case it is a strong affirmation of succession as in the biblical texts.

³⁴ J.T. WALSH, “Elijah,” in D.N. FREEDMAN, ed., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 2 (New York, 1992) 463-466.

³⁵ As affirmed by C. von ORELLI, “Prophet; Prophecy,” in G.W. BROMILEY, ed., *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, 1988-1990) 986: *'ebed* or servant implies devotion and obedience for the Lord and his word. In the Hebrew Bible it is used with possessive pronoun in which the authority of God upon “his servant the prophet” (1 Kgs 14:18; 2 Kgs 17:23; 21:10; 24:2) or “my servants the prophets” (2 Kgs 9:7; 17:13; Jer 7:25; 29:19; Zech 1:6) is recognized.

³⁶ According to C. von ORELLI, “Prophet; Prophecy,” in G.W. BROMILEY, ed., *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, 1988-1990) 988-989: in David’s court, Natan was *nābī* while Gad, was *ḥozeh* (2 Sam 24:11; 2 Chr 21:9). Among scholars there are some contrasts about the different meaning of these synonyms, especially about the continuity between “prophet” (*nābī*) and “seer;” again, *ro'eh* or *ḥozeh* are more popular in the early history of Israel while *nābī* appears a later date.

(‘*ebed*) “servant”, this term has a wide range of meanings in the Hebrew Bible: some prophets are specifically identified with this epithet and Moses is also often referred to as “servant”.³⁷ J. Blenkinsopp³⁸ argues that the epithet עבד־יהוה “servant of YHWH” is a Deuteronomic expression that is applied to the ministry of Moses as mediator and lawgiver. However, in the post-exilic texts this epithet is present, but Elohim replaces YHWH.³⁹ The term “Servant of God” is also used to designate prophets later than Moses who fulfil a similar role. The terms “prophet” and “servant” are thus synonymous in some contexts. Moreover, the expression עבדי הנביאים “my servants, the prophets”⁴⁰ appears as if God Himself is the speaker. In this case, according to A.P. Jassen, the prophets have more roles.⁴¹

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the term “servant” always appears with *nābî*: עבדיו הנביאים “his servants, the prophets” (1QS 1:3; 1QpHab 2:9; 7:5; 4Q166 2:5), עבדי הנביאים “my servants, the prophets” (4Q390 2 i 5) and עבדי הנביאים “your servants, the prophets” (4Q292 2 4; 4Q504 1-2 iii 12-13).⁴² As noted by J.E. Bowley, in the Dead Sea Scrolls the word עבד “servant” is used with the same criteria as in a biblical text because the semantic meaning of the term is preserved. Moreover, עבד “servant” is not independent from נביא *nābî* because it is often used for Moses.⁴³ However, *nābî* נביא seems more appropriate because Moses and Elijah are defined with this term, and as above, עבד, ‘*ebed*, and נביא *nābî* are used together.

In spite of the similarities between them, in the Hebrew Bible Moses and Elijah have different ways of being a prophet: while God speaks usually with his prophets through dreams or visions, with Moses it is different, because YHWH speaks directly אל־פניו “face to face” with him (Exod 33:11; Numb 12:6ff; Deut 34:10). Moreover, Moses has a particular religious and civil role in relation to Israel. Instead, Elijah embodies the perfect figure of the prophet because he is the prophet who challenges and is antagonistic to the king and his rules. Both Moses and Elijah offer different types of prophecy labelled by the term נביא *nābî*. According to G.J. Brooke, in the scrolls the Hebrew root *nby*’ concerns biblical books and the term appears with the name of the prophet: Isaiah (i.e. CD 6:13; 4Q174 1-2i:15; 4Q285 7:1; 11Q13 2:15), Jeremiah (i.e. 4Q385a 18i a-b:2), Ezekiel (i.e. CD 3:21; 4Q174 1-2i:16), Amos (CD 7:10), Zechariah (CD 19:7) and Daniel (4Q174 1-3ii:3). But sometimes

³⁷ 1 Kgs 14:18; 15:29; 2 Kgs 9:36; 10:10; 14:25; Isa 30:3. Instead in 1 Kgs 18:36 Elijah refers to himself as a servant.

³⁸ J. BLENKINSOPP, *A History of Prophecy in Israel: from the Settlement in Land to the Hellenistic Period* (London, 1984) 189-190.

³⁹ Dan 9:11; Neh 10:30; 1 Chr 6:34; 2 Chr 24:9 (cf. Ps 105:26).

⁴⁰ 2 Kgs 9:7; 17:13; Jer 7:25; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4; Ezek 38:17; Zech 1:6.

⁴¹ See, A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 123, n. 68. The author affirms that in Jeremiah the prophetic servant is sent to warn Israel, while in Deuteronomistic history, the prophets are referred to as mediators of divine law.

⁴² A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 124, n. 68.

⁴³ J.E. BOWLEY, “Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran,” in P.W. FLINT – J.C. VANDERKAM, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment. Volume Two* (Leiden, 1999) 358.

it appears in reference to an eschatological prophet, as in 1QS 9:11; 4Q158 6:6; 4Q175 5:7. Nevertheless, sometimes in Qumran the term *nby'* is used for the ספרי הנביאים “books of the prophets” (CD 7:17; 4Q397 14 21:10), in which this expression is not clear because it is open to a wider interpretation. In any event, some quotes refer to an eschatological prophet and these emphasize that the community is in continuity with biblical Israel,⁴⁴ even though, according to Deuteronomy 18, the community was waiting for a prophet like Moses. The Qumran writings produced para-biblical texts in which the authors tried to explain the events of their era with exegesis of the biblical text.

A. Lange⁴⁵ provides a detailed characterization of the texts of Qumran, in which there are the parabiblical texts that cannot be considered as pseudepigraphy, but as a new means of biblical revelation compared to prophecy: they should be interpreted as a form of scriptural revelation, which is similar to literary prophecy. In the non-biblical texts of the community, this reworking is the ability to analyse biblical events, providing a new reading of them. In the light of different situations, a re-actualization of biblical events emerges. Prophecy at Qumran is not a past occurrence but a present situation, although it is tied to the past. For this reason, Moses, Elijah, Samuel, and David are considered prophetic figures. The author of parabiblical text uses different types of genres: rewritten Bible or different sorts of apocalypses and testaments. According to G.J. Brooke,⁴⁶ these reworkings of prophetic texts are linked to classical prophecy because they are a continuation. This means that the prophetic events announced by classical prophets often pertain to past events. Instead, in Qumran these past prophecies are actualized for present events. In this way prophetic activity is in continuity with classical prophecy. These methods are used to respond to the problems of their time.

According to A.P. Jassen,⁴⁷ in the Hebrew Bible the prophet’s role is manifold, because the prophet must announce the word of God and also exhorts people to respect and observe the Torah. Therefore these prophets neither reveal new laws nor new reconfigurations of Pentateuchal laws but they sometimes appear as lawgivers (2 Kgs 17:13b; Ezra 9:10-11; Dan 9:10; 2 Chr 29:25). In the last case, it seems that divinely revealed law did not cease with Moses. Instead, in Qumran texts, Moses and the prophets are often equated. They are all mediators of revealed law (1QS 1:2-3; CD 5:21-6:1; 4Q166 2:1-6; 4Q390 2; 4Q375). In this case the prophets become an active part of revelation, and sometimes they are presented as amplifying Mosaic laws (1QS 8:15-16; 4Q381 69; 4Q390 1).⁴⁸ These

⁴⁴ G.J. BROOKE, “La Prophétie de Qumrân,” in J.D. MACCHI – C. NIHAN – T. RÖMER – J. RÜCKL, eds., *Les recueils prophétiques de la Bible. Origines, milieux, et contexte proche-oriental* (Genève, 2012) 486-488.

⁴⁵ A. LANGE – U.R. MITTMANN, “Annotated List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified,” in E. TOV, ed., *The Texts from the Judean Desert, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 39* (Oxford, 2002) 117-118.

⁴⁶ G.J. BROOKE, “La Prophétie de Qumrân,” in J.D. MACCHI – C. NIHAN – T. RÖMER – J. RÜCKL, eds., *Les recueils prophétiques de la Bible. Origines, milieux, et contexte proche-oriental* (Genève, 2012) 489-492.

⁴⁷ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 40, n. 68.

⁴⁸ A.P. JASSEN, “The Presentation of the Ancient Prophets as Lawgivers at Qumran,” *Journal Biblical Literature* 127/2 (2008) 327.

assertions about prophets in Qumran emphasize the lack of clarity about their role as, according to A.P. Jassen, there are different views of the prophets in sectarian and non-sectarian texts of Qumran. There are texts in which the prophets become mediators of divine law alongside Moses, while in other texts the non-judicial task of the prophets is stated.⁴⁹

As explained above, Moses appears in the Hebrew Bible as a mediator, a lawgiver-prophet, a lawgiver-interpreter and also a priest-prophet; but why in Qumran is he only named as a prophet? Moses is a controversial and unclear figure.

3.2. Moses like a prophet in Qumran

3.2.1. Moses like a past prophet in Qumran

Moses in the Hebrew Bible is frequently a lawgiver and mediator of Divine Law, because the Lord gave him the task of administering justice to the people of Israel (Lev 24:10-23; Numb 15:32-36; 27:1-11). Unlike a traditional prophet, he is the person who announces the will of God, emphasizes the importance of some elements of the law as idolatry, and exhorts the people of Israel to observe the precepts he enunciates. The prophet is not a lawgiver because he must serve the Mosaic Law.⁵⁰ Considering this, G.J. Brooke affirms that at Qumran the term נביא *nābî'* is associated with Moses and the prophets.⁵¹ This term is repeatedly used in sectarian and non-sectarian texts. Among the sectarian documents, in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) 1:3, Moses appears as a prophet: צוה ביד מושה וביד כול עבדיו הנביאים “He commanded through Moses and through all His servants the prophets”. As A.P. Jassen notes,⁵² in this fragment the *Yahad* must fulfil what was commanded through (ביד) Moses and through (וביד) the prophets. The preposition ביד stresses that God laid down the Law to Moses and to the prophets through him. Also, in the *Rule of Community*, Moses and the prophets are mediators of divine law. However, Moses is not pointed out as he who received the Law, but he only as he who is in possession of the Law. The fragment provides new information on this subject,

⁴⁹ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 40-41, n. 68.

⁵⁰ See 2 Kgs 17:13; Ezra 9:10-11; Dan 9:10; 2 Chr 29:25. According to A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 39, n. 68: in these quotes the role of the classical prophet that has the task of transmitting the divine law is emphasized. In these cases, the revelation to Moses did not cease but it continues with other prophets.

⁵¹ G.J. BROOKE, “Prophets and Prophecy in the Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament,” in R.A. CLEMENTS – D.R. SCHWARTZ, eds., *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity. Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 84 (Leiden/Boston, 2009) 41.

⁵² A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 43-44, n. 68.

because Moses and the prophets appear as those who receive the Law and then transmit it.⁵³ Nevertheless, in the same scroll, but in 1QS 8:14-16 is written:

כאשר כתוב במדבר פנו דרך ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלוהינו¹⁴
היאה מזרש התורה א[ש]ר צוה ביד מושה לעשות ככול הנגלה עת בעת¹⁵
וכאשר גלו הנביאים ברוח קודשו וכול איש מאנשי היחד ברית¹⁶

¹⁴As written: in the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord; smooth away a path for our God.
¹⁵This teaching of the Torah that he commanded to do, by the hand of Moses, according to everything that has been revealed time to time¹⁶and according to t[ha]t who revealed to the prophets by his Holy Spirit. And anyone of the men of the Community of the covenant.

In accordance with l. 14, the *Yahad* must prepare a way in the desert, and for this reason, the *Yahad* decides to dwell in the desert. What is the meaning of this? The community must study the Torah. However, G.J. Brooke holds that the *Yahad* living in the desert was a prophetic act, with the community assuming a prophetic identity. This point is emphasized by the insertion of Isaiah 40:3 in the *Rule of the Community*. According to G.J. Brooke,⁵⁴ this passage amplifies the experience of the desert, not only in a spiritual sense through the study of the Torah, but also by implying a symbolic prophetic action. In this way, life in the desert has allowed the community to contemplate its prophetic role. For scholars, in 1QS 8:14 there is still an important question “what is commanded: the Torah or its study?” The problem is raised by the presence of the relative pronoun אשר that gives rise to dissimilar readings because there is a syntactical ambivalence.⁵⁵

As mentioned above, in these verses Moses and the prophets are present with different roles. In fact, God ordered the study of the Torah as commanded through Moses. A.P. Jassen explanation of this point is significant: in this text the prophets have a secondary role in the revelation. 1QS 8:15-16 provides a particular interpretation of the role of Moses and the prophets. As explained by A.P. Jassen, the word לעשות “to do” refers to the performance of the Torah and not to its exposition. It means that the Torah of Moses can be observed and is not self-sustaining because, if it is to be observed, explanations and elucidations are needed. For this reason, the community is exhorted to observe the Torah according to what has been revealed from time to time (1QS 8:15). Therefore, the understanding of the Torah occurs through periodic revelation. As a result, the Torah is lacking without periodic revelation. In this context it is possible to understand that in this quote the prophets have a different role because Moses begins the transmission of the Torah and the prophets are charged to provide enlightenment as to performance of the Torah. The meaning is that the Torah revealed on

⁵³ See 2 Kgs 17:13; Ezra 9:10-11; Dan 9:10; 2 Chr 29:25.

⁵⁴ G.J. BROOKE, “La Prophétie de Qumrân,” in J.D. MACCHI – C. NIHAN – T. RÖMER – J. RÜCKL, eds., *Les recueils prophétiques de la Bible. Origines, milieux, et contexte proche-oriental* (Genève, 2012) 502.

⁵⁵ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 50, n. 68.

Mount Sinai is incomplete for the needs of the people of Israel.⁵⁶ Therefore the *Yahad* takes part in the progressive revelation of the Torah through the experience of prophetic activity.

Moses was a lawgiver, because he received the Torah from God, but the Torah was revealed from time to time, and the text implies that Israel and the community did not receive the whole revelation.⁵⁷

3.2.2. Moses as an eschatological prophet in Qumran

3.2.2.1. 4Q175 or 4QTestimonia

The 4Q*Testimonia* is a Hebrew text discovered in cave 4 of Qumran. Its name is due to a collection of passages from the Hebrew Bible that refer to messianic figures. The name *Testimonia* derives from Cyprian's *Ad Quirinum* whose subtitle is *Testimoniorum libri tres*.⁵⁸

Some scholars believe that the 4Q*Testimonia* is a collection of writings that could have a relationship with the formation of the New Testament, because the text is composed of the following biblical passages: Deuteronomy 5:28-29, 18:18-19; Numbers 24:15-17, Deuteronomy 33:8-11, and a fragment of the *Psalm of Joshua*. These quotes put in sequence provide a pre-Christian literary process that provides evidence of the use of a collection of quotes from the HB in the NT.⁵⁹

1 וידבר ' אל מושה לאמור שמעת את קול דברי
2 העם הזה אשר דברו אליכה היטיבו כול אשר דברו
3 מי ינתן ויהיה לבכם זה להם לירא אותי ולשמור את כול
4 מצותי כול הימים למעאן יטב להם ולבניהם לעולם
5 נבי אקים לאהם מקרב אחיהמה כמוכה ונתתי דברי
6 בפיהו וידבר אליהמה את כול אשר אצונו והיה האיש
7 אשר לוא ישמע אל דברי אשר ידבר הנבי בשמי אנוכי

⁵⁶ A.P. JASSEN, "The Presentation of the Ancient Prophets as Lawgivers at Qumran," *Journal Biblical Literature* 127/2 (2008) 319-322.

⁵⁷ See H. NAJMAN, *Seconding Sinai. The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2003) 31-40: the author puts in relation Deut 5:1, Deut 31:12-13 and Deut 31:28-30. In these three pericopes there is a re-enactment of the event of Sinai. In these quotes Moses reminds the congregation of Israel of the Teaching of God and the covenant that they made with the Lord. Reading Neh 8:1-8 there is a similar event to Deuteronomy, because after the exile the people of Israel are gathered together in a place in front of the Water Gate to hear the Mosaic Torah. There is not Moses, but Ezra who was a priest, scribe and interpreter. The Torah of Moses is read publicly but the people need an interpreter. It means that Ezra is an interpreter of the writings of Moses because the people did not understand what was read. In this case the Sinaitic experience is revised but with a mediator, scribe, and interpreter that is able to understand the word of Moses. H. Najman believes that in this experience the Torah is reintroduced in the Jewish community even though it is in exile. The revelation happens more times, or any time that people read the Torah of Moses. For this reason, Moses in Deut 34:10-12 is declared several times as the last prophet. He is celebrated as a lawgiver, a prophet, and a scribe but he is a mediator of Sinaitic revelation in which he received the Decalogue and the Laws.

⁵⁸ J.A. FITZMYER, *4QTestimonia and The New Testament* (Woodstock, 1957) 513, n. 18.

⁵⁹ J.A. FITZMYER, *4QTestimonia and The New Testament* (Woodstock, 1957) 537, n. 18.

8 אדרוש מעמו
 9 וישא משלו ויאמר נאום בלעם בנבעור ונאם הגבר
 10 שהתם העין נואם שומע אמרי אל וידע דעת עליון אשר
 11 מחזה שדי יחזה נופל וגלו עין אראנו ולוא עתהא
 12 אשורנו ולוא קרוב דרך כוכב מיעקוב שבט מישראל ומחץ
 13 פאתי מואב וקרקר את כול בני שית
 14 וללוי אמר הבו ללוי תמיד ואורך לאיש חסידך אשר
 15 נסיתו במסה ותרבהו על מי מריבה אמר לאביו ///
 16 ולאמו לידתיכה ואת אחיו לוא הכיר ואת בנו לוא
 17 ידע כי שמר אמרתכה ובריתך ינצר משפטיך ליעקוב
 18 תורתכה לישראל ישם(ו) קטורה באפך וכלל על מזבחך
 19 ברך . . . חילו ופעל ידו תרצה מחץ קמו ומשנאו
 20 בל יקמו

¹And the Lord spoke to Moses and He said: You heard the sound of the words of ²the people that have spoken to you; all that they have said is right. ³Who was given a heart as theirs to fear Me and to keep everything ⁴my ordinances every day it may be right with them and with their descendants forever. ⁵I would raise up for them a prophet like you, among your brothers and I put my words ⁶in his mouth and he will speak to them all that I command him. And it will happen that a man ⁷who does not heed to My words which the prophet will pronounce in My name, I ⁸will call him to account. ⁹He will announce his oracle saying: The oracle of Balaam son of Beor, and oracle of the strong man ¹⁰that has a terrible look, oracle of him who listens the words of the Lord and knows the knowledge of the Most High, who ¹¹sees the vision of the Almighty lying down and with an open eye. I see him but not now. ¹²I observe him but not close up. A star shall come from Jacob a sceptre shall rise from Israel. He shall crush ¹³the borderlands of Moab and shall shatter the sons of Shet. ¹⁴And about Levi he says: Give to Levi your Thummim and your Urim to your right man whom ¹⁵I tried at Massah and with whom I strived at the waters of Meribah, he who said to his father, ¹⁶and mother, I did not know them and his brothers, and his son ¹⁷he did not want to know. For he kept your words and your covenant. They shall shine your ordinances for Jacob ¹⁸your Law for Israel, they put to you perfumed incense and whole offering upon your altar. ¹⁹Bless o Lord his strength and accept the work of his hands. Crush the loins and rise those who hate him ²⁰may they not rise. (4Q175 1:1-20)

This text is very illuminating because it enables us to have more information about the prophet and the two messiahs. These three figures recall 1QS 9:11 in which a prophet is expected before or together with the messiahs.⁶⁰ The link between 1QS and 4Q*Testimonia* is necessary, because the *Yahad* interprets both texts messianically; however, the eschatological prophet who could be identified with Moses⁶¹ also appears in 11Q*Melchizedek* that will be subsequently examined.

Returning to 4Q175, F. García Martínez distinguishes these biblical texts:

- 1 Deut 5:28-29 and Deut 18:18-19 in which there is hope in a Prophet like Moses at the end of times;

⁶⁰ F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ– G. TREBOLLE BARRERA, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden, 1995) 178.

⁶¹ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 177, n. 47.

- 2 Numb 24:15-17: Balaam's Oracle in which the Royal Messiah may be interpreted;
- 3 Deut 33:8-11: the blessing of Levi; and it potentially proclaims the hope in the Priestly Messiah;
- 4 A fragment of the *Psalm of Joshua*.⁶²

This subdivision points out that, in the Hebrew Bible and in the Qumran texts, a prophet, a priest and a royal messiah are expected for the end of days. F. García Martínez affirms that the expected prophet should also be a messianic figure, together with the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel.⁶³ This view sets up new perspectives. Three passages refer to three eschatological figures and the same is true of 1QS 9:11, in which the figures appear in the same order.⁶⁴ In the following passages, the prophetic figure has not been thought of as messianic in the eschatological sense, because the Hebrew word משיח means “anointed” and it is used to label a prophet, a king, a priest or a heavenly messiah. Consequently, it could be used to designate a figure in an eschatological context and in this case it is an eschatological term, or it could express a qualification.⁶⁵ In *4QTestimonia* the expected prophet will be like Moses, and A.P. Jassen provides a wider view because he asserts about *4QTestimonia* that the *Yahad* expressly used the Samaritan text, and the quote of Exodus 20:22 is the result of following MT: Deuteronomy 5:25-26 with Deuteronomy 18:18-19. These two texts are not messianic, but if inserted into a messianic context they change meaning. While in MT, Moses would be the only mediator of divine Law; in Samaritan text there is a prophet “like Moses”. This detail allows us to interpret this quote in an eschatological sense. In this way, the scribe of *4QTestimonia* points out the eschatological task of the expected prophet.⁶⁶

3.2.2.2. Moses “redivivus”

This last hypothesis could explain the expression: מוֹשֶׁה מְשִׁיחוֹ, “Moses His anointed” (4Q377 2ii 5), in which Moses is to be understood as a messiah. In the Hebrew Bible, Moses was never anointed

⁶² F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Two Messianic Figures in the Qumran Texts,” in D.W. PARRY, ed., *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 20 (Leiden, 1996) 26.

⁶³ F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Two Messianic Figures in the Qumran Texts,” in D.W. PARRY, ed., *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 20 (Leiden, 1996) 26.

⁶⁴ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 161, n. 68.

⁶⁵ J.J. COLLINS, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (Grand Rapids, 1995) 15-16.

⁶⁶ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 171-173, n. 68.

because he was neither a king, nor a prophet⁶⁷ nor a priest. In the Qumran texts he is anointed because he is the mediator of Divine Law.⁶⁸ About this last assertion, A.P. Jassen affirms that the title of Moses as prophet provides the particular role of Moses in the history of Israel, because Moses in his experience on Mount Sinai was a prophetic lawgiver. A.P. Jassen again asserts that the prophetic “anointed one” refers to an ancient prophet and that they had a wide range of prophetic tasks. Moreover, in Qumran the “anointed ones” are often represented as lawgivers, and as mediators of divine law.⁶⁹ Reviewing 4Q175 1:5-8, Moses appears *redivivus*, (even though according to J.W. Wevers⁷⁰ the concept of “*redivivus*” belongs to the LXX) because all his historical characteristics are present:

⁵ נבי אקים לאהם מקרב אחיהמה כמוכה ונתתי דברי
⁶ בפיהו וידבר אליהמה את כול אשר אצונו והיה האיש
⁷ אשר לוא ישמע אל דברי אשר ידבר הנבי בשמי אנוכי
⁸ אדרוש מעמו

⁵I would raise up for them a prophet like you, among your brothers and I put my words ⁶in his mouth and he will speak to them all that I command him. And it will happen that a man⁷ who does not heed to My words which the prophet will pronounce in My name, I ⁸will call him to account (4Q175 1:5-8)

As suggested by A.P. Jassen,⁷¹ this pericope in the biblical context of Deuteronomy refers to a post-Mosaic succession of prophets, because in this first part of Deuteronomy 18, God provides instructions against divination and necromancy. In 4Q175, however, there is another context that provides another interpretation. In fact, in this case there is an eschatological perspective. Moses is not mentioned, thus he is understood, because in a previous verse, God spoke with him. Here a prophet like Moses is announced, that will utter God’s words. It is an eschatological perspective, specifically through a prophet that is connected to Moses, like a prophetic mediator of Divine Law.

A parallel with this text is in 4Q377 2 ii 5:

⁵ לכול מ [] בפי מושה משיחו וללכת אחד יהוה אלוהי אבותינו המ []

⁶⁷ According to T.C. RÖMER, “Moses, Israel’s First Prophet, and the Formation of the Deuteronomistic and Prophetic Libraries,” in M.R. JACOBS – R.F. PERSON Jr., eds., *Israelite Prophecy and the Deuteronomistic History, Portrait, Reality, and the Formation of a History*, Society of Biblical Literature. Ancient Israel and Its Literature 14 (Atlanta, 2013) 129, Moses in the HB was never explicitly depicted as a prophet; only in Deut 18:15 he seems to inaugurate the prophetic office in Israel. Instead in Deut 34:10-12 Moses is distinguished by the prophets that come after.

⁶⁸ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 102, n. 68.

⁶⁹ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 103, n. 68.

⁷⁰ J.W. WEVERS, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies 39 (Atlanta, 1995) 541.

⁷¹ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 159, n. 68.

⁵all *m* [] from the mouth of Moses his anointed one, and to follow YHWH God of our fathers who *m* []

G.G. Xeravits⁷² affirms that in this text Moses is again the “anointed one” but the meaning is different, because here Moses is not an eschatological figure, but rather a person of the past. However, the prophetic aspect always remains: in the same fragment the expression, ומושה איש האלוהים “Moses man of God” (4Q377 2 ii 10) is used. In the Biblical history and also in the Qumran texts, Moses is the only man who spoke with God for forty days and forty nights within the cloud (Exod 24:18). He stayed in front of God. According to the redactor of this fragment, God inside the cloud made Moses holy, and he took on angelic characteristics.⁷³ Moses was a man of piety and nobody was like him.

עליו הענן כיא [] בהקדשו וכמלאך ידבר מפיהו כיא מי מבש[ר] כמוהו ¹¹
¹² איש חסדים ויו [] ׀ אשר לוא נבראו {ל} מעולם ולעד

¹¹the cloud covered him because [] when he sanctified him and he spoke as a messenger through his mouth for who was a messen[ger] like him, ¹²a man of fair people, and *yw* [] *m*. which were never created {to} from eternity and forever [] (4Q377 2ii 11-12)

Following these images, G.G. Xeravits argues that in the Qumran texts Moses appears as the mediator of Divine Law, a messenger, a man of God, a messiah, and a prophet. Only Moses at Qumran has all these roles.

A.P. Jassen arrives at the same conclusion in a different way, declaring that in 1QS 9:11 and 4Q175 the same prophet is expected, and he is an eschatological prophet. He will be a *redivivus* figure. The expected prophet will not be the historical prophet but a new individual with similar characteristics to Moses. This is because the *Rule of Community* (1QS) and *4QTestimonia* orbit around Deuteronomy 18:18 in which a prophet “like Moses”, or a new Moses is expected.⁷⁴

3.2.2.3. The Process of shaping the figure of Moses as an eschatological prophet

According to scholars, the *Rule of the Community* (1QS), *4QTestimonia* and *11QMelchizedek*, are the principal texts in which the figure of Moses as prophet is characterized. In the first two texts, there

⁷² G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 179, n. 47.

⁷³ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 179, n. 47.

⁷⁴ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 186-187, n. 68.

is the expectation of a prophet like Moses, a Davidic Messiah and a Priestly Messiah; while in the third there are other specific features.

As affirmed by F. García Martínez,⁷⁵ the *Yahad* has intentionally inserted Deuteronomy 18:18-19 because the expected prophet must be “like Moses”. In the Qumran texts Moses and the prophets are quoted as anointed ones. This title is based on Psalm 105:15 אֶל־תִּגְעוּ בַמְשִׁיחִי וּלְנַבִּיאֵי אֶל־תִּרְעוּ “Do not touch my anointed and do my prophets no harm” in which anointed ones and prophet are put in parallel. G.G. Xeravits⁷⁶ attests that in the Qumran texts Moses is the prophet *par excellence*. But the hypothesis that the expected prophet is Moses is more debated because there are no quotations that affirm these assumptions but only some allusions. In 4Q377 2 ii 11-12, the figure of Moses seems to be understood, and in 11Q13 2:15-21 the principal role is not assumed by Melchizedek but by a prophetic figure, which has the task of instruction and announcement:

¹⁵ הזואת יום ה[שלום א]שר אמר[] ביד ישע[יה הנביא אשר אמר [מה]נאו
¹⁶ על הרים רגל[י] מבשר[ר מ]שמיע שלום מב[שר טוב משמיע ישוע]ה [א]ומר לציון [מלך] אלוהיך
¹⁷ פשרו ההרים[המה] הנביאי[ם] המה א[] מ [] לכול []
¹⁸ והמבשר הו[א]ה [משיח הרון]ת[] כאשר אמר דנ[יאל עליו עד משיח נגיד שבועים שבעה ומבשר]
¹⁹ טוב משמי[ע ישועה] הוואה הכתוב עליו אשר []
²⁰ לנח[ם] ה[אבלים פשרו]ל[ה]שכילמה בכול קצי הע[ולם] []
²¹ באמת למ[] מה א[] []

¹⁵This is the day of the peace in which he said [from the hand of the prophet Isa]iah who said: [how] beautiful ¹⁶upon the mountains are the feet of the messeng[er of] good things, messen[ger who announce peace, who announce salvation and [s]ays to Sion: your God [reigns]. ¹⁷Its interpretation: the mountains [are] the prophet[s] a [] m [] everything []
¹⁸And the messenger i[s] the anointed with the spir[it] as Dani[el] said about him: until an anointed, a prince, it is seven weeks. And the messenger of] ¹⁹good who announ[ces salvation] is the one about whom it is written that [²⁰to comf[ort] mourners. Its interpretation]: to instruct them in every [time] ²¹in truth *lm*[] *mh a* []
(11Q13 2:15-21)

G.G. Xeravits⁷⁷ suggests that in this pericope Melchizedek exerts martial activity while the protagonist exerts verbal activity. The protagonist is called מבשר (messenger) that in the Hebrew Bible is used to indicate a prophetic figure, however in these quotations he is not only a messenger, but also announces (משמיע), says (אומר), comforts (לנחם), and instructs (להשכילמה). The pericope of 11Q13 2:15-21 has two characteristics, in which the author affirms that the mountains are identified

⁷⁵ F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “Two Messianic Figures in the Qumran Texts,” in D.W. PARRY, ed., *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 20 (Leiden, 1996) 27.

⁷⁶ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 176, n. 47.

⁷⁷ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 182, n. 47.

with the prophet (הנביאים) and the “messenger” is the “Anointed of the Spirit” (משיח הרוח). As stated by G.G. Xeravits, the protagonist is a messenger, a prophetic figure, and an anointed one with an eschatological role.⁷⁸

G.G. Xeravits⁷⁹ notes that, in the Library of Qumran, Moses is labelled as: “man of God” (ישא האלויים), “like an angel” (כמלאך), “messenger” (מבשר), and “pious one” (איש חסדים). These epithets originate with the personal relationship between Moses and God. G.G. Xeravits, putting 4Q377 and 11QMelchizedek in parallel, points out that 4Q377 is non-sectarian writing, while 11QMelchizedek is a sectarian composition. Thus, in both cases and in different ways, the activity of Moses will be analysed. While in 11QMelchizedek Moses is identified as a messenger that appears as an eschatological figure, in 4Q377 the redactor focuses on the earthly character of Moses.⁸⁰

A.P. Jassen⁸¹ asserts that in the *Rule of Community* (1QS), and in *4QTestimonia* the task of the prophet is juridical, while in 11QMelchizedek he announces imminent eschatological battle between Melchizedek and Belial, and then comforts those afflicted by the battle.

Many scholars attribute the figure of the prophet to Elijah, as below, while A.P. Jassen and G.G. Xeravits hold that the concurrence of eschatological traditions of 1QS, 4Q175 and 11Q13 lead to a new Moses, because in the Qumran texts only Moses is both מבשר and משיח.⁸²

⁷⁸ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 183, n. 47.

⁷⁹ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 126, n. 47.

⁸⁰ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 184, n. 47.

⁸¹ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 185, n. 68.

⁸² A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 187, n. 68.

3.3. Elijah like a prophet in Qumran

3.3.1. Elijah as a “past prophet” and anointed one in Qumran

In the writings of Qumran, the figure of Elijah appears occasionally and only two scrolls are relevant: 4Q558 and 4Q521. The first text is an Aramaic text in which Elijah is named, while the second text is an eschatological composition in which the protagonist recalls the figure of Elijah.⁸³ For the latter reason, in non-sectarian scrolls Elijah is investigated indirectly, especially in an eschatological context. A.P. Jassen⁸⁴ claims that in the Hebrew Bible, the verbal root מָשַׁח (anointed ones) about prophet and prophecy, is used only three times, in 1 Kings 19:16, Isaiah 61:1, and Psalm 105:15 // 1 Chronicles 16:22.

In 1 Kings 19:16 the Lord says to Elijah: וְאַתָּה יְהוָה בֶּן־נִמְשִׁי תִמְשַׁח לְמֶלֶךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאַתָּה אֵלִישָׁע בֶּן־שַׁפְטָה “And you shall anoint Jehu son of Nimshi as king over Israel. And Elisha the son of Shaphat of Abel-Meholah you shall anoint as prophet in your place”.

But Elijah does not anoint anyone with oil. As stated by scholars, Elijah anoints Elisha only through his power,⁸⁵ and then Elisha makes his attendants anoint Jehu (2 Kings 9:6).⁸⁶ In the text of Isaiah, there is another feature as the Holy Spirit anoints the prophet. In this case there is no physical anointing but a spiritual experience. A.P. Jassen⁸⁷ agrees with J. Blenkinsopp who affirms that it “is metaphorical, conveying the idea of full and permanent authorization to carry out the prophet’s God-given assignment”. Finally, in 1 Chronicles 16:22 // Psalm 105:15, there is a parallel between “anoint” and “prophet”; also, both are used to appoint the patriarchs. From this short overview of these texts, it is possible to deduce that the terms “anointed ones” and “prophets” can assume different aspects in which there could be a ritual or spiritual anointing.

G. Bohak⁸⁸ makes an important point about the figure of Elijah as a man of God. This title is especially specific for Elijah and Elisha who are not prophets like Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel, who were great orators; or like Moses who was a lawgiver or a political leader. Elijah and Elisha are two men of God because they have power with magical features. In our case, Elijah has been able to bend

⁸³ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 186, n. 47.

⁸⁴ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 85, n. 68.

⁸⁵ According to J. GRAY, *I & II Kings: A Commentary, Old Testament Library* (London, 1985) 411: the anointing of Elisha occurs when Elijah “appoints” Elisha.

⁸⁶ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 89, n. 68.

⁸⁷ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 89, n. 68.

⁸⁸ G. BOHAK, *Ancient Jewish Magic. A History* (Cambridge, 2008) 22-27.

the laws of nature to his will, but for the great glory of God. Usually, in the Hebrew Bible this characteristic is present in the magicians who are moved by personal needs: as in Deuteronomy 18:10ff, the Lord abhors who practices sorcery and divination, soothsayers and who casts spells, and consults ghosts. Elijah accomplishes actions that are similar to those of magicians. Elijah works miracles as a gift from God, and he does not instruct Elisha about his powers, but Elisha becomes a man of God when Elijah throws his garment upon him (1 Kgs 19:19-21).

However, in the Qumran texts, the term “anointed ones” משיח is frequently used to indicate prophetic figures. Often, Elijah is labelled as the “anointed one”. Therefore, on the one hand “anointed ones” sometimes have eschatological functions, because the משה רוח “anointed of the spirit” and the חזן אמת “seeker of truth” (4Q266 2 ii 12; 4Q270 2 ii 14; 4Q287 10:13) are used as figures of the past and especially prophetic rather than eschatological characters.⁸⁹ On the other hand, in 11QMelchizedek there is a scene in which prophecy and eschatology are both present. Here is the text and translation of 11Q13 2:15-21 again:

15 הזואת יום ה[שלום א]שר אמר[] ביד ישע[יה הנביא אשר אמר [מה]נאוו
 16 על הרים רגל[י] מבשר[ר מ]שמיע שלום מב[שר טוב משמיע ישוע]ה [א]ומר לציון [מלך] אלוהיד
 17 פשרו ההרים[המה] הנביאי[ם] המה א[] מ [] לכול []
 18 והמבשר הו[א]ה [משיח הרו[ח] כאשר אמר דנ[יאל עליו עד משיח נגיד שבועים שבעה ומבשר]
 19 טוב משמי[ע] ישועה [הואה] הכתוב עליו אשר []
 20 לנח[ם] ה[אבלים פשרו] ל[ה]שכילמה בכול קצי הע[ולם] []
 21 באמת למ[] מה א[] []

¹⁵This is the day of the peace in which he said [from the hand of the prophet Isa]iah who said: [how] beautiful ¹⁶upon the mountains are the feet of the messeng[er of] good things, messen[ger who announce peace, who announce salvation and [s]ays to Sion: your God [reigns]. ¹⁷Its interpretation: the mountains [are] the prophet[s] a [] m [] everything [] ¹⁸And the messenger i[s] the anointed with the spir[it] as Dani[el] said about him: until an anointed, a prince, it is seven weeks. And the messenger of] ¹⁹good who announ[ces salvation] is the one about whom it is written that [²⁰to comf[ort] mourners. Its interpretation]: to instruct them in every [time] ²¹in truth *lm*[] *mh a* []

Analysing 11Q13 2:15-21, A.P. Jassen affirms that this is a *pesher*, that it is a part of an eschatological *midrash*, in which the *pesher* of Isaiah 52:7 is interpreted through two passages of Isaiah 61:1-2. The eschatological role of the herald can be understood in light of Isaiah 61:1 when the herald is identified as one anointed with the spirit. The principal task of the herald is to משמיע שלום “announce peace” and “bring good things” טוב מבשר (Isa 52:7). Then, the herald has the role of נחם כל־אבלים “comforting all who mourn” (Isa 61:2).⁹⁰ The mountains (הרים) are identified with the

⁸⁹ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 133, n. 47.

⁹⁰ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 180, n. 68.

prophets (הנביאים) of Isaiah 52:7 while the messenger is משיח רוּחַהּ or “anointed of the spirit” with reference to Isaiah 61:1.

However, in 11Q13, the main figure is Melchizedek, thus the messenger of God משיח רוּחַהּ is a prophetic figure that cannot be identified with Melchizedek himself.⁹¹ Scholars suggest that Isaiah 61:1 might allude to the eschatological prophet.⁹² For example, A.P. Jassen⁹³ notes that in this *peshet* the prophet initially announces the eschatological salvation and then will provide comfort for the people: these two characteristics seem to refer to Elijah and his mission according to the book of Malachi and Ben Sira. Also, J.C. Poirier⁹⁴ argues that popular exegesis reads Elijah as the “anointed one” of Isaiah 61:1. In relation to this last quotation of Isaiah, there is a different interpretation between the Hebrew Bible and the Qumran texts, because in Isaiah 61:1 it seems that the spirit descends upon the prophet and he is then anointed. It means that the prophet and the anointed are two separate concepts. In this case, the prophet is anointed with oil. Instead, A.P. Jassen,⁹⁵ in *11QMelchizedek*, provides a reinterpretation of the Biblical concept between the prophet, the anointing and the spirit, because the spirit itself is the anointing agent.

3.3.2. Elijah as an eschatological figure in the Qumran texts

3.3.2.1. 4Q521

4Q521 or the *Messianic Apocalypse* was found in cave 4 and is composed of sixteen fragments. É. Puech,⁹⁶ who published these fragments, affirmed that according to the paleographic examination they were certainly written in the first half of the first century B.C.E., even though copied between 100-80 B.C. Scholars are divided about the origin of the fragment, as É. Puech⁹⁷ and others hold that it is a sectarian document, while some scholars⁹⁸ ascribe a non-sectarian origin to it because

⁹¹ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 93, n. 68.

⁹² See M. De JONGE - A. S. van der WOUDE, “11QMelchizedek and the New Testament,” *New Testament Studies* 12 (1996) 306-307; G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 74, 182-183, n. 47; J.C. POIRIER, “The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses in Qumran,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10/2 (2003) 226.

⁹³ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 184, n. 68.

⁹⁴ J.C. POIRIER, “The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10/2 (2003) 228.

⁹⁵ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 93, n. 68.

⁹⁶ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 98-99, n. 47.

⁹⁷ É. PUECH, “Une Apocalypse messianique (4Q521),” *Revue de Qumrân* 12 (1992) 475-522.

⁹⁸ See: J.J. COLLINS, “Works of the Messiah,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1/1 (1994) 106; D. DIMANT, *Qumran Cave 4 XXI. Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 30 (Oxford, 2001) 13.

a different vocabulary was used from that of sectarian writings. Scholars are also divided about the name of the manuscript: É. Puech named it the “Messianic Apocalypse” because it appeared to be related to other apocalyptic texts like *Daniel 12, 1 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch*; while, according to F. García Martínez,⁹⁹ the text might be defined as “Poetical Work” and “Sapiential Poem”. Scholars believe that the apocalypse is not a literary genre, but a perspective that can be expressed in several ways.¹⁰⁰ In fragment 2, column 3, we read:

¹ ואת חק חסד {י}ך ואתר אותם ב [כי
² נכון באים אבות על בנים א] []
³ אשר ברכת אדני ברצונו]
⁴ גלה הארץ בכל מקו]ם []
⁵ כי כל ישראל בגיל] []
⁶ ואת שבט]ו ו[ירממו
⁷ מצא]ו []

- ¹ and the statute of your goodness. And I will free them with [because ()]
² it is sure: fathers coming towards their sons. Happy (?)]
³ which the blessings of the Lord with his favour []
⁴ rejoice the earth in every plac[e]
⁵ for all Israel in the rejoicing
⁶ and his sceptre [and] they will be exulted [because (?)]
⁷ [they] found

This text appears fragmentary and recalls the prophecy of Malachi 3:24 and a passage of Ben Sira 48:10. In both passages there is a connection with the return of Elijah, even though in 4Q521 the prophet is not named. In line 1 the subject is unknown. G.G. Xeravits¹⁰¹ attests that in the Hebrew Bible the *hip'il* of the verb נתר that means “to save, liberate” appears five times. In two occurrences the subject is a human being (Isa 58:6 and Ps 105:20) while in two other passages the subject is God (Ps 79:11 and 146:7).¹⁰² However in the latter case YHWH is not mentioned and scholars cannot impute Him as subject even though the expression: “I will free them” (4Q521 2 iii 1) should be interpreted as a sentence in which God is the subject. In 4Q521 2 ii 4:1 there is a similar situation and D. Hamidović,¹⁰³ like J.J. Collins,¹⁰⁴ holds that the expression למשיחו “His Messiah”, implies that God is the subject, even though it is in the third person singular. This usage exists in the Hebrew Bible,

⁹⁹ F. GARCIA MARTINEZ, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Text in English* (Leiden, 1995) 394-395.

¹⁰⁰ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 99, n. 47

¹⁰¹ There is an exception from Job 6:9, in which the meaning is different from the other quotations.

¹⁰² G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 105, n. 47.

¹⁰³ D. HAMIDOVIĆ, “Peut-on penser une histoire intellectuelle du premier messianisme juif à partir des manuscrits de Qumrân?”, in D. HAMIDOVIĆ, ed., *Aux origines des messianismes juifs, Actes du colloque international tenu en Sorbonne, à Paris les 8 et 9 juin 2010*, *Vetus Testamentum. Supplements* 158 (Leiden/Boston, 2013) 112.

¹⁰⁴ J.J. COLLINS, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (Grand Rapids, 1995) 136.

especially in Isaiah 61:1 in which the author switches from first to third person in Isaiah 61:8. In consequence, in 4Q521 Elijah is the expected prophet and not the foreteller.¹⁰⁵ According to É. Puech, line 2 and 3 appear like two different contexts and É. Puech¹⁰⁶ therefore distinguishes the royal Messiah in column 2 and the prophet Elijah as a messianic forerunner in column 3. He makes this distinction because in column 6 the term שבט “staff” is used and it has been employed to name the royal messiah or the Prince of the Congregation. However, in Hebrew this term has a twofold meaning. In fact J.J. Collins,¹⁰⁷ J. Zimmermann,¹⁰⁸ and G.G. Xeravits¹⁰⁹ in Ben Sira 48:10, translate it as “tribe”,¹¹⁰ because in its context this term gives proof of the eschatological role of Elijah. In line 2, as argued by B.J. Shaver¹¹¹ there is a connection with Malachi 3:24, in which there is a clear coming of the prophet Elijah. In 4Q521 2 iii 4-5 the fulfilment of messianic expectation is portrayed: joy for earth and for Israel is announced. The joy will be firstly for earth, and afterwards specifically for Israel. Joy will provide a change. Again, while in the Hebrew Ben Sira the quotation of Malachi 3:24 begins with the term נכון לעת “ready for the appointed time” and it is used as an adjective, in 4Q521 it is a noun and it must be translated as “it is sure/determined/fixed”. This allusion, together with the expected eschatological prophet creates the conviction that Elijah is the expected prophet.

3.3.3. Elijah “redivivus”

3.3.3.1. 4Q558

4Q558 or *4Qpap Vision^b ar* is a small composition of 150 damaged fragments. It was copied between the second half and the end of first century B.C.E. and was written in Aramaic.¹¹² It is a non-sectarian manuscript and was first interpreted by J. Starcky¹¹³ who saw the figure of Elijah in the

¹⁰⁵ D. HAMIDOVIĆ, “Peut-on penser une histoire intellectuelle du premier messianisme juif à partir des manuscrits de Qumrân?”, in D. HAMIDOVIĆ, ed., *Aux origines des messianismes juifs, Actes du colloque international tenu en Sorbonne, à Paris les 8 et 9 juin 2010*, Vetus Testamentum. Supplements 158 (Leiden/Boston, 2013) 112.

¹⁰⁶ É. PUECH, “Une Apocalypse messianique (4Q521),” *Revue de Qumrân* 12 (1992) 497.

¹⁰⁷ J.J. COLLINS, “Works of the Messiah,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994) 103.

¹⁰⁸ J. ZIMMERMANN, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (Tübingen, 1998) 367.

¹⁰⁹ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 189, n. 47.

¹¹⁰ D. HAMIDOVIĆ, “Peut-on penser une histoire intellectuelle du premier messianisme juif à partir des manuscrits de Qumrân?”, in D. HAMIDOVIĆ, ed., *Aux origines des messianismes juifs, Actes du colloque international tenu en Sorbonne, à Paris les 8 et 9 juin 2010*, Vetus Testamentum. Supplements 158, (Leiden/Boston, 2013) 112.

¹¹¹ J.B. SHAVER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of Second Temple Period* (Chicago, 2001) 180.

¹¹² É. PUECH, *Qumran Grotte 4.XXXVII Textes Araméens Deuxième Partie, Discoveries in the Judean Desert 37* (Oxford, 2009) 180-181.

¹¹³ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 186, n. 47.

manuscript because there is an allusion to Malachi 3:23. This Aramaic text also includes apocalyptic visions in which typical elements of theophanies associated with Elijah are present.

1 [] באישין
 2 [] הן די מ
 3 תמיניא לבחיר והא אנ]ה
 4 לכן אשלה לאליה קד]ם
 5 תו]ס]ף ברקא וזי]קיא
 6 [] וא []
 7 [] עוד []
 8 [] ללתא ה]

- 1 [] bad []
 2 []except of m []
 3 the eighth chosen. And behold myself []
 4 Thus I will send Elijah before? []
 5 To a[d]d from sharp lightn[ing]
 6 the king [] said []
 7 []again to ad[d]
 8 [the c]urses []
 (4Q558 51:1-8)

For J. Starcky,¹¹⁴ in this fragment Elijah plays the role of an eschatological prophet and also forerunner of the Messiah. J. Starcky affirms that the expression “the eighth chosen” is a reference to the figure of David who was the eighth son of Jesse and YHWH chose him (1 Sam 16:10). David could represent the royal Messiah, and Elijah would be the forerunner of this messiah. However J. Starcky also notes that in this fragment there is a prelude to the interpretation of Malachi as in the New Testament (Matt 16:14; 18:10-13; Luke 1:17).¹¹⁵ This thesis is strengthened by 4Q558 51 ii 4 in which the word קד, “before” points out the role of Elijah as forerunner.¹¹⁶

A.P. Jassen¹¹⁷ affirms that J. Starcky’s interpretation is speculative and weak because it is difficult to determine the role of Elijah. However, 4Q558 should be situated in the same literary tradition as Malachi and Ben Sira, because they are involved in the Jewish conception of the eschatological prophet. Again, for A.P. Jassen,¹¹⁸ 4Q558 should be seen as part of the important scriptural tradition about Elijah in Malachi in which the prophet is identified as a forerunner of the Day of the Lord.

¹¹⁴ J. STARCKY, “Les Quatre Étapes du Messianisme à Qumran,” *Revue Biblique* 70 (1963) 498.

¹¹⁵ J. STARCKY, “Les Quatre Étapes du Messianisme à Qumran,” *Revue Biblique* 70 (1963) 498.

¹¹⁶ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 143, n. 68.

¹¹⁷ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 143-144, n. 68.

¹¹⁸ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 144, n. 68.

B.J. Shaver¹¹⁹ asserts that Elijah was not portrayed as an eschatological forerunner of the Messiah in any other text from the Second Temple period before the Gospel of Mark. This implies that the predominant idea about Elijah in the Canonical Gospels was not present in 4Q558.

G.G. Xeravits¹²⁰ notes that Elijah in Malachi is not a forerunner of the Messiah, but precedes the Day of Judgement, and in the Hebrew Bible (Mal 3:23-24; Sir 48:10) he is the only figure expected to return. Therefore, Elijah is an eschatological figure in the Hebrew Bible because he is a precursor of the Day of Judgement.¹²¹

3.3.4. Process shaping the figure of Elijah as an eschatological prophet

Elijah benefits from this link to Elijah *redivivus*, but we prefer the hypothesis that explains that Elijah is not *redivivus* but a new Elijah. É. Puech¹²² holds that the Essenes expected a prophet like a new Elijah, a priestly Messiah and a royal Messiah. All these figures would have begun a new era or messianic era. He also affirms that the task of the expected prophet “like Moses” is bound to 4Q558 in which the text of Malachi 3:23-24 is present. This text is eschatological and prophetic because the role of the prophet will be to prepare hearts for the Day of YHWH. However, the messianic character does not exclude that the prophet is a forerunner: in fact, É. Puech¹²³ defines him as an eschatological prophet and a forerunner of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel.

However, J.B. Shaver¹²⁴ points out that Elijah had priestly roles when he built an altar and offered sacrifices (1 Kgs 18:30-39), and when he anointed the king. These tasks put Elijah in parallel with a Qumranic priestly figure. Moreover, J.B. Shaver attests that neither in the *Rule of the Community* nor in *4QTestimonia* is it indicated who will come first: the prophet or the Messiahs. This peculiarity emphasizes that there is no order of appearance or importance of these three figures.¹²⁵

A.P. Jassen makes an important point when he asserts that at first glance Elijah could be the eschatological prophet in Qumran; thus neither the *Rule of Community*, nor *4QTestimonia* make explicit reference to Elijah. Only *11QMelchizedek* identifies the prophet as the anointed one, but the

¹¹⁹ J.B. SHAVER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of Second Temple Period* (Chicago, 2001) 166.

¹²⁰ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 188, n. 47.

¹²¹ G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 186, n. 47.

¹²² É. PUECH, “Messianisme, eschatologie et résurrection dans les manuscrits de la mer Morte,” *Revue de Qumran* 18/2 (1997) 285.

¹²³ É. PUECH, “Messianisme, eschatologie et résurrection dans les manuscrits de la mer Morte,” *Revue de Qumran* 18/2 (1997) 283.

¹²⁴ J.B. SHAVER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of Second Temple Period* (Chicago, 2001) 195.

¹²⁵ J.B. SHAVER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of Second Temple Period* (Chicago, 2001) 188.

name of the prophet is not given. A.P. Jassen¹²⁶ also argues that this silence is very eloquent because it shows that on the one hand the *Yahad* shares with contemporary Judaism, but on the other hand it has its own tradition. Finally, A.P. Jassen¹²⁷ opines that in the corpus of Qumran the expectation of Elijah and Moses is expressed in sectarian (1QS, 4Q175, 11Q13) and non-sectarian texts (4Q558, 4Q521).

3.4. Other figures suspected to be related to a prophetic messiah on the model of Moses and/or Elijah

3.4.1. The Interpreter of the Law

After analysing Moses and Elijah in the landscape of Qumran, it could be interesting to investigate their connection in this context. Below, all the characters that seem related to Moses and Elijah will be investigated singly. The Interpreter of the Law and the Teacher of Righteousness are bound together, and in the Qumran texts there often appears to be confusion between them, or they appear or as part of a chain or two sides of a question. In consequence, scholars put forward many hypotheses about each figure that could have dual role. They will in any event be placed in parallel because they seem to be messianic and eschatological figures.

The Interpreter of the Law is often identified with: “branch” “rod” and “star”. These titles when inserted in their context provide different roles for the Interpreter of the Law. In 4Q174 2 i 10-13 we read:

10 וה[גיד לכה יהוה כיא בית יבנה לכה והקימותי את זרעכה אחריתכה והכינותי את כסא ממלכתו
11 [לעו]לם אני אהיה לוא לאב והוא יהיה לי לבן הואה צמח דויד העומד עם דורש התורה אשר
12 [...]בצוי[ון בא]חרית הימים כאשר כתוב והקימותי את סוכת דויד הנופלת היאה סוכת
13 דויד הנופל[ת א]שר יעמוד להושיע את ישראל

¹⁰And YHWH declares to you that he will build you a house. I will raise up your seed after you and I will establish the throne of his kingdom ¹¹[for] ever. I will be a father to him and he will be a son to me. This (refers to) the Shoot of David who will arise with the Interpreter of the Law who ¹²[. . .] from Si[on in the] last days as it is written: I will raise the booth of David which is fallen. This booth ¹³fall[en of] David will stand to save Israel.

¹²⁶ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 187, n. 68.

¹²⁷ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 188, n. 68.

In this extract of *4QFlorilegium* or 4Q174, the Interpreter of the Law will arise in the last days, and he is compared with the “branch of David” while in 4Q175 1:12 and CD 7:18-21, the Interpreter is a “star” and in CD 6:7, he is a “rod”. These are three different ways to define the same person; however, in CD 6:7 the Interpreter of the Law is declared as a figure of the past and not of the future. Some scholars define him as the Teacher of Righteousness because שׂוֹרֵר also means “overseers”.

F. García Martínez¹²⁸ recognizes that A.S. van der Woude had a special insight in claiming that in the *Damascus Document* the Interpreter and the Teacher are the same person. A.S. van der Woude was able to determine that the Interpreter in CD 6:7 is a figure of the past, while in CD 6:11 he is a figure of the future, thus he has another name. According to A.S. van der Woude, this future figure, the Interpreter of the Law and the Teacher of Righteousness are the same person and are prophets. However, F. García Martínez disagrees with this, because the text of CD 19:35-20:1 shows that the time of existence of the Teacher of Righteousness is unlike the future coming of the Messiah.¹²⁹

A.S. van der Woude¹³⁰ holds that the Interpreter is the expected prophet, because he is also defined as “staff” as in Numbers 21:18. F. García Martínez¹³¹ disagrees with this: unlike A.S. van der Woude, he ascribes messianic features to the prophet. However, A.S. van der Woude analysing CD 7:18-19, affirms that the “Interpreter who will come to Damascus” is the prophet Elijah, because in 1 Kings 19:15 God commands Elijah to go to Damascus and to anoint King Hazael. A.S. van der Woude¹³² interprets this quotation allegorically and draws a parallel between Damascus and Qumran. According to this point of view, as Elijah went to Damascus, he will now go to Qumran like a priestly Messiah.

É. Puech makes an interesting observation: in the Biblical text anointing usually concerns a king or a priest, thus in 1 Kings 19:16 Elisha is anointed as a prophet.¹³³ This peculiarity of the anointing of Elisha gave rise to J.C. Poirier’s view that Elijah is a priest, and he is certainly a Levite.¹³⁴

¹²⁸ F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ – G. TREBOLLE BARRERA, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden, 1995) 187.

¹²⁹ F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ – G. TREBOLLE BARRERA, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden, 1995) 187-188.

¹³⁰ A.S. van der WOUDE, *Die Messianischen Vorstellungen Der Gemeinde von Qumran* (Assen, 1957) 84-85, 187.

¹³¹ F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ – G. TREBOLLE BARRERA, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden, 1995) 188.

¹³² A.S. van der WOUDE – A. SIMON, “Le Maître de Justice et les deux Messies de la communauté de Qumrân,” *Recherches Bibliques* 4 (1959) 132.

¹³³ É. PUECH, “Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521 and Qumran Messianism,” in D.W. PARRY – E. ULRICH, eds., *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 30 (1999) 545-565.

¹³⁴ J.C. POIRIER, “The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10/2 (2003) 230.

However, according to A.P. Jassen, Malachi announces Elijah who has the task of preparing for a time of eschatological events. So, Elijah must arrange for the Day of YHWH.¹³⁵ A.P. Jassen is very illuminating because he removes perplexity about the eschatological figure of the prophet. Moreover, he analyses other quotations in which the Interpreter is mentioned, and he affirms that, in CD 6:7, the Interpreter is a person of the past, while in CD 7:18 and 4Q174 2i 11-12 the Interpreter is an eschatological and complementary figure with the royal Messiah.

והמחוקק הוא דורש התורה

And the ruler is the Interpreter of the Law (CD 6:7)

והכוכב הוא דורש התורה

And the star [is the Interpreter of the Law (CD 7:18)

¹¹ [לעו] לם אני אהיה לוא לאב והוא יהיה לי לבן הוא צמח דויד העומד עם דורש התורה אשר
¹² [...] בצ'י[ון בא] חרית הימים כאשר כתוב והקימותי את סוכת דויד הנופלת היאה סוכת

¹¹[for] ever. I will be a father to him and he will be a son to me. This (refers to) the Shoot of David who will arise with the Interpreter of the Law who ¹²[. . .] from Si[on in the] last days as it is written: I will raise the booth of David which is fallen. This booth ¹³fall[en of] David will stand to save Israel. (4Q174 2 i 11-12).

If it is the case that the Interpreter is an eschatological figure complementary with the royal Messiah, it could be possible to determine that the Interpreter has a priestly and not a prophetic, identity. However, the *Damascus Document* does not express the features of this prophet who could be anyone, especially in the *midrash* of the “Well” in CD 6.¹³⁶

3.4.2. The Teacher of Righteousness

According to A.S. van der Woude,¹³⁷ the Teacher of Righteousness and the Interpreter of the Law are the same person. Therefore, in CD 7:18-19 he identifies the Teacher/Interpreter with the High Priest who appears linked to Elijah because there are many similarities with 1 Kings 19:15ff. Because the sect made a particular exegesis applying the past occurrences to the present, A.S. van der Woude argues that, for the *Yahad*, Damascus is recognizable as Qumran and the Teacher/Interpreter with Elijah because in 1 Kings 19:15 the Lord in the wilderness of Damascus sent Elijah to anoint Hazael. The sect of Qumran recognizes in Elijah the expected Messiah of Aaron. Side

¹³⁵ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 139-141, n. 68.

¹³⁶ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 191-192, n. 68.

¹³⁷ A.S. van der WOUDE – A. SIMON, “Le Maître de Justice et les deux Messies de la communauté de Qumrân,” *Recherches Bibliques* 4 (1959) 132.

by side with this, for A.S. van der Woude, according to *4QTestimonia* and 1QS 9:11, the expected prophet “like Moses” could be the historical Teacher of Righteousness, because like Moses, he withdraws himself into the desert; in this case, the desert is Qumran. He also appears as a lawgiver (CD 6:3ff; 19:21; 6:19), and he knows all the mysteries that YHWH revealed to him (1QpHab 7:4-5).¹³⁸

In addition, F. García Martínez believes that in CD 7:18-19 the star is the Prince of the Congregation while the Interpreter is recognizable as the Messiah of Aaron. This last figure could be Elijah, the eschatological priest.¹³⁹ Again, F. García Martínez affirms that the prophet “like Moses” could be Elijah *redivivus*.¹⁴⁰ É. Puech¹⁴¹ confirms that in CD 7 the star is the Interpreter, a historical instructor and priest, while an eschatological priest will follow him. However, É. Puech argues that the eschatological prophet will be a precursor, but in the Hebrew Bible only Elijah has this role, who besides being the expected prophet, could also be the herald of 11*QMelchizedek*. All these assumptions lead to Elijah *redivivus*.¹⁴²

Also J.B. Shaver¹⁴³ believes that in 11*QMelchizedek* the expected herald מְבַשֵּׂר could be either Elijah or a prophet “like Moses”, because in the Biblical world Elijah is the prophet “like Moses” and in the texts 4Q558 and 4Q521 Elijah seems to be the expected prophet. J.B. Shaver, like A.S. van der Woude, claims that the Messiah of Aaron is linked to the Interpreter and then to Elijah even though in 4Q558 and 4Q521 no priestly figure is mentioned.¹⁴⁴

A.P. Jassen¹⁴⁵ distinguishes between the Teacher of Righteousness that is portrayed as Moses, and the eschatological prophet “like Moses”. It is a precise clarification that identifies different features between these two figures, establishing the presence of a Teacher that seems to be Moses, and an eschatological prophet portrayed “like Moses”.

J.J. Collins argues that although the Teacher is portrayed as “like Moses”, and the eschatological prophet is the prophet “like Moses”, they are separate figures.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁸ A.S. van der WOUDE – A. SIMON, “Le Maître de Justice et les deux Messies de la communauté de Qumrân,” *Recherches Bibliques* 4 (1959) 133.

¹³⁹ F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ – G. TREBOLLE BARRERA, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden, 1995) 183.

¹⁴⁰ F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ – G. TREBOLLE BARRERA, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden, 1995) 184.

¹⁴¹ É. PUECH, “Messianisme, eschatologie et résurrection dans les manuscrits de la mer Morte,” *Revue de Qumran* 18/2 (1997) 280.

¹⁴² É. PUECH, “Messianisme, eschatologie et résurrection dans les manuscrits de la mer Morte,” *Revue de Qumran* 18/2 (1997) 284.

¹⁴³ J.B. SHAVER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of Second Temple Period* (Chicago, 2001) 189.

¹⁴⁴ J.B. SHAVER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of Second Temple Period* (Chicago, 2001) 195.

¹⁴⁵ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 190, n. 68.

¹⁴⁶ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 189-190, n. 68.

Finally, D. Hamidović¹⁴⁷ makes an interesting presumption: according to him the Teacher of Righteousness of the end of the days is the new Moses and could be identified with the title of “one who teaches righteousness” with reference to Hosea 10:12. In this way he can be the new Elijah.

Instead, F. García Martínez affirms that the title *יורה הצדק* is the same as that of the Teacher of Righteousness and, as asserted by A.S. van der Woude, Teacher and Interpreter are the same person. Moreover, for F. García Martínez and A.S. van der Woude, both teachers are equivalent to the expected prophet “like Moses”.¹⁴⁸ According to A.P. Jassen, if the comparison between the Teacher of Righteousness and the eschatological teacher has been rejected, in the *Damascus Document* there is a connection between the expected prophet and the eschatological leader. In reality the task of this last figure is to be a prophet “like Moses”.¹⁴⁹

The figure of the Teacher of Righteousness seems to coincide with new Moses for some scholars, but this link appears implicit. The Teacher of Righteousness is a much-discussed figure, and A.S. Van der Woude examines some quotations to delineate a portrait. In CD 19:35ff the Teacher is split from the Messiah of Aaron and Israel, and his death is declared. In my opinion this last point is necessary, because without it the coming of the Messiah does not happen. As stated by Dupont-Sommer,¹⁵⁰ the Teacher must die and be reborn. This scholar believes that the Teacher is the expected messianic figure. A.S. Van der Woude¹⁵¹ disagrees with Dupont-Sommer, but in my opinion his contribution is an important element in the research, as we will see.

Analysing *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpH), God has disclosed to the Teacher all mysteries that have been revealed to the prophets (7:4-5):

פֶּשֶׁר עַל מוֹרֵה הַצְּדָק אֲשֶׁר הוֹדִיעוּ אֵל אֵת
כֹּל רֵזִי דְבָרֵי עֲבָדָיו הַנְּבִאִים⁵

⁴Its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God has made known ⁵all secrets, of the words of his servants, the prophets. (1QpHab 7:4-5).

For A.S. van der Woude,¹⁵² the Teacher was the head of the sect as written in CD 1:1ff: God used mercy for this portion of Israel, and the Teacher was an instrument of divine revelation. As

¹⁴⁷ D. HAMIDOVIĆ, “Peut-on penser une histoire intellectuelle du premier messianisme juif à partir des manuscrits de Qumrân?”, in D. HAMIDOVIĆ, ed., *Aux origines des messianismes juifs, Actes du colloque international tenu en Sorbonne, à Paris les 8 et 9 juin 2010*, Vetus Testamentum. Supplements 158 (Leiden/Boston, 2013) 115.

¹⁴⁸ F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ– G. TREBOLLE BARRERA, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden, 1995) 188.

¹⁴⁹ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 193, n. 68.

¹⁵⁰ A. DUPONT-SOMMER, “Nouveaux aperçus sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte,” *L’Orient ancien illustré* 5 (1953) 82.

¹⁵¹ A.S. van der WOUDE – A. SIMON, “Le Maître de Justice et les deux Messies de la communauté de Qumrân,” *Recherches Bibliques* 4 (1959) 123.

¹⁵² A.S. van der WOUDE – A. SIMON, “Le Maître de Justice et les deux Messies de la communauté de Qumrân,” *Recherches Bibliques* 4 (1959) 127-128.

above, A.S. van der Woude takes the view that there is a historical and eschatological Teacher of Righteousness who is also named “overseer”. While the historical Teacher appears in 1QpH 7:4ff and CD 6:7, the eschatological Teacher is present in CD 6:11 and 4QFolrilegium. In the *Damascus Document* the Overseer or Teacher appears coupled with the Prince of the Congregation and he is the Davidic Messiah or the Messiah of Israel, while close to him the expected Messiah of Aaron emerges.¹⁵³

J.J. Collins¹⁵⁴ asserts that the Teacher of Righteousness will be like the messianic figure expected in the future. In fact, in CD 20:1ff he dies, but in CD 20:32 he governs the *Yahad*.

J.J. Collins solves this ambiguity by claiming that the Teacher of Righteousness is a role that has been exercised by the founder of the *Yahad* and will be also exercised by the expected Messiah who should be priestly because the Teacher was Zadokite.

P.R. Davies¹⁵⁵ disagrees with A.S. Van der Woude, believing that the Teacher of Righteousness is not the founder of the sect, because in CD 6 the Teacher arrives at the end of days. According to P.R. Davies, although the Interpreter has the role of initiating the *Yahad*, the Teacher will bring the *Yahad* to fulfilment of an epoch but without an eschatological task.

S.L. Mattila¹⁵⁶ makes an interesting point about the Teacher, comparing him to an angel because in accordance with *Pesher Habakkuk* the Teacher is a mediator between God and the *Yahad*. In fact, he receives mysteries and hidden meanings of the Scripture.

In a later work, J.J. Collins¹⁵⁷ will affirm that the Teacher and the Interpreter are the same person. He believes that there is an explicit distinction between the historical Teacher and the figure expected at the end of days. In CD 19:35-20:1 the Teacher is truly the Interpreter; instead, the eschatological Teacher is expected, and it is written that in the community council every ten men must have an interpreter of the Law. This particular work would benefit from more citations.

S.T. Beall,¹⁵⁸ referring to 1QpH 7:4-5, also declares that the Teacher is a key figure in the history of Qumran, because God revealed to him all the mysteries of the prophets. This point created problems in the *Yahad* because he who was against the Teacher was a traitor like the Wicked Priest. S.T. Beall asserts that the Teacher lives in the last days of the *Yahad* according to 1QpHab 2:5-10:

וְכֵן פֶּשֶׁר הַדְּבָר [עַל הַבּוֹ] גְּדִים לְאַהֲרִית אַ

¹⁵³ A.S. van der WOUDE – A. SIMON, “Le Maître de Justice et les deux Messies de la communauté de Qumrân,” *Recherches Bibliques* 4 (1959) 130-131.

¹⁵⁴ J.J. COLLINS, “Patterns of Eschatology at Qumran,” in B. HALPERN – J.D. LEVENSON, eds., *Traditions in Transformation. Turning Points in Biblical Faith* (Winona Lake, 1981) 359.

¹⁵⁵ P.R. DAVIES, “The Teacher of Righteousness and the ‘End of Days,’” *Revue de Qumrân* 13 (1988) 315.

¹⁵⁶ S.L. MATTILA, “Two Contrasting Eschatologies at Qumran (4Q246vs 1QM),” *Biblica* 75/4 (1994) 535.

¹⁵⁷ J.J. COLLINS, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (Grand Rapids, 1995) 112.

¹⁵⁸ S.T. BEALL, “History and Eschatology at Qumran,” in A. AVERY-PECK - J. NEUSNER – B.D. CLINTON, eds., *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part Five. The Judaism of Qumran: A Systemic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Volume Two. World View, Comparing Judaisms*, Handbuch der Orientalistik 57 (Leiden, 2001) 131.

⁶ הימים המה עריצ[יהבר]ית אשר לוא יאמינוא
⁷ בשומעם את כול הבא[ות ע]ל הדור האחרון מפּי
⁸ הכוהן אשר נתן אל ב[לבו בינ]ה לפשור את כול
⁹ דברי עבדיו הנביאים [אשר] בידם ספר אל את
¹⁰ כול הבאות על עמו

⁵Likewise the interpretation of the word [concerns the trait]ors in the last ⁶days. They are cru[els of the coven]ant who will not believe ⁷when they hear everything that is going [to happen t]o the last generation, from the mouth ⁸of the Priest whom God has placed within the Commun]ity to foretell all, ⁹the words of his servants the prophets [that] from their hands they write ¹⁰everything that is going to happen to the his people.

Again, S.T. Beall underlines that the Teacher is a priest whom God ordained for a *Yahad* as written in 4Q171 1-10 iii 15-17:

¹⁵ יוטל כיא [סומך ידו] פשרו על הכוהן מורה ה[צדק אשר]
¹⁶ [ד]בר בו אל לעמוד ו[אשר] הכינו לבנות לו עדת []
¹⁷ [ודר]כו ישר לאמתו] נער היי[תי וגם זקנתי ולוא] ראיתי צדיק

¹⁵he will not fall because Y[WHW supports him with His hand]. Its interpretation about the Priest, the Teacher of [Righteousness whom] ¹⁶God chose to stand and [that] he ordered him to found Him a congregation [¹⁷and] straightened out his [pa]th in truth. I [have been young] and now I am old, thus I have not [seen that who is right].

This point creates a new perspective about the Teacher because he is a priest who foretells the events of the last days.¹⁵⁹ A.P. Jassen believes that among the scholars there is confusion about the Interpreter and the Teacher. In fact, he asserts that the expected prophet cannot be identified with the Teacher because the first documents of Qumran, such as the *Damascus Document*, do not furnish information about the eschatological prophet and the Teacher “like a prophet”. A.P. Jassen also affirms that in CD 19:35-20:1 the Teacher lived in a time before the two Messiahs. So, as specified by A.P. Jassen, the eschatological prophet cannot be identified with the Teacher, because the texts do not contain any indication about the Teacher who is understood as an eschatological prophet by the *Yahad*.¹⁶⁰

3.4.3. One who Teaches Righteousness or יורה הצדק

In CD 6:11 the expression יורה הצדק that means “one who teaches righteousness” could be confused with the Teacher of Righteousness (המור צדק). Only a few scholars distinguish these two

¹⁵⁹ S.T. BEALL, “History and Eschatology at Qumran,” in A. AVERY-PECK - J. NEUSNER – B.D. CLINTON, eds., *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part Five. The Judaism of Qumran: A Systemic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Volume Two. World View, Comparing Judaisms*, Handbuch der Orientalistik 57 (Leiden, 2001) 130-131.

¹⁶⁰ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 189-190, n. 68.

characters that seem to be the same person. This figure who “teaches righteousness” appears in CD 6:11. P.R. Davies¹⁶¹ asks himself who this person could be; in fact P.R. Davies supposes that יורה הצדק could be the founder of the *Yahad* that in CD 1:1; CD 20:1; 20:14; 20:22; 20:32 is referred to the past. However, in CD 6:11 he is a future figure. Surely the יורה הצדק is an eschatological figure that in this case marks the beginning of a new era in which the *Yahad* will not be in “the era of wickedness” (CD 6:10). Therefore, P.R. Davies holds that this eschatological time is tied to the era of wickedness rather than the end of days,¹⁶² and the Teacher is a herald before the coming of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel. Similarly, F. García Martínez argues that the expected prophet is a messianic figure.

F. Dexinger¹⁶³ makes an important point about the prophet as a messianic figure: he asserts that the Teacher of Righteousness in 1QpHab 8:2-3, and the Interpreter of the Law in CD 1:18-21 and 4Q174 1 11-12 are figures like the expected prophet, while in CD 6:11 the יורה הצדק will return to teach the Torah. Therefore for F. Dexinger these three people are the expected prophet. A.P. Jassen,¹⁶⁴ instead distinguishes the eschatological prophet from the Teacher of Righteousness and from the Interpreter of the Law because the Interpreter of the Law in CD 6:7 is a person of the past and could be the founder of the *Yahad*. A.P. Jassen also holds that the *Damascus Document* does not provide for the presence of the eschatological prophet, instead he exists in the *Rule of the Community*, in 4QTestimonia and 11QMelchizedek. Indeed, in CD 6:3-11 or the *midrash* of the “Well”, there are figures of the past but expected in the future; יורה הצדק appears only at the end of days.

A.P. Jassen points out that in CD 6:11 this figure has a juridical role like the prophet of 1QS and 4Q175, because in these three scrolls the laws and the precepts must be observed until the coming of one that teaches righteousness.

¹⁶¹ P.R. DAVIES, “The Teacher of Righteousness and the ‘End of Days’,” *Revue de Qumrân* 13 (1988) 314.

¹⁶² P.R. DAVIES, “The Teacher of Righteousness and the ‘End of Days’,” *Revue de Qumrân* 13 (1988) 315.

¹⁶³ M.G. ABEGG – C.A. EVANS, “Messianic passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in J.H. CHARLESWORTH – H. LICHTENBERGER – H. OEGEMA - S. GERBERN, ed., *Qumran-Messianism. Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Tübingen, 1998) 93.

¹⁶⁴ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 191, n. 68.

4. Chapter 2 – The Relationship between Moses and Elijah in the Hebrew Bible and in the texts of Qumran

4.1. Moses and Elijah in the Hebrew Bible

In the previous chapter some specific features of Moses and Elijah have been reviewed, but I will now examine some ways in which they are different. In the Hebrew Bible there are many similarities between Moses and Elijah; however only in Malachi 3:22-24 are they both named. This passage will be examined later, and in the meantime, it is possible to point out some important parallels. There are some events that depict a convincing connection or continuity between Moses and Elijah, such as the case of the admission of the uniqueness of YHWH. On Mount Sinai YHWH proclaims to Moses that he is the Lord and Israel shall not have other gods than him (Exod 20:3; Deut 6:4-7); likewise when Elijah is on Mount Carmel and against the prophets of Baal, he claims that YHWH is the only God and the people recognize the uniqueness of the Lord (1 Kgs 18:21-39). Again, Moses flees to the desert because the Pharaoh decides to kill him (Exod 2:15) like Elijah who flees into the desert from Jezebel who decides to kill him (1 Kgs 19). Then, Moses and Elijah both have a theophanic event (Exod 3:1-15; 19:18-20; 1 Kgs 19:11-13) even though with a different divine message. Moses and Elijah also have in common an unusual experience of death, because the place of the death of Moses is unknown (Deut 34:5-6), while Elijah is translated to heaven (2 Kgs 2:9-12). According to R.P. Carroll,¹⁶⁵ the absence of an account of the death of Elijah is a reason for a return of Elijah in the eschatological times. Moreover, all these similarities between Moses and Elijah suggest that Elijah could be a “new Moses”, a “second Moses”, and also a spiritual successor of Moses himself.

R.P. Carroll¹⁶⁶ raises an important question about the prophetic succession, relating the binomials of Moses-Joshua and Elijah-Elisha. The two binomials are worthy of attention because they are an important characterization that involves the figures of Moses and Elijah. The history of Moses and Joshua and that of Elijah and Elisha are examples of prophetic succession even though in the Hebrew Bible these are the only two cases. Moses divides the waters of the Red Sea (Exod 14:21) and Joshua separates the waters of the Jordan (Josh 3:7-8); then Elijah separates the river Jordan (2 Kgs 2:6) and Elisha also performs this miracle after he receives the spirit of Elijah (2 Kgs 2:14). Joshua and Elisha succeed Moses and Elijah respectively but only when Moses and Elijah die. In both cases there is prophetic succession: when Moses dies, God establishes Joshua as referent for the people of Israel

¹⁶⁵ R.P. CARROLL, “The Elijah-Elisha Sagas: Some Remarks on Prophetic Succession in Ancient Israel,” *Vetus Testamentum* 19/4 (1969) 411.

¹⁶⁶ R.P. CARROLL, “The Elijah-Elisha Sagas: Some Remarks on Prophetic Succession in Ancient Israel,” *Vetus Testamentum* 19/4 (1969) 403-406.

(Josh 1:1-2); likewise when Elijah goes up to heaven in the whirlwind, Elisha acquires the powers of Elijah and the sons of the prophets of Jericho understand that the spirit of Elijah has settled on Elisha (2 Kgs 2:12-15). In Israel the prophetic office is usually accomplished when a person is the spokesman of YHWH, or he is a messenger of the word of YHWH, and this office begins with Moses and is then taken by other prophets according to the order of enunciation in the Hebrew Bible. However, Elijah is the only prophet that can be equated to Moses: they seem to be complementary because both hear the voice of YHWH, even though with different theophanic experiences, because Moses hears YHWH in the turbulence and in the fire, while Elijah hears Him in a soft murmuring sound (Exod 19:18-19; 1 Kgs 19:11-13).¹⁶⁷

4.1.1. Moses as a multivalent figure in the Hebrew Bible

Moses in the Hebrew Bible is a multivalent and central figure of the Pentateuch, because he has many roles in the history of the people of Israel. In the account of the exodus Moses saves the people from the Pharaoh (Exod 13:24-14:28) because he accomplishes the will of God.

G.W. Coats¹⁶⁸ explains that in 1 Kings 8:53-56 the image of Moses is exalted because he allows the separation between Israel and other people. Also, Moses makes the exodus possible because he obeys God. Both God and Moses are part of the events. God frees the people, but Moses makes it possible. In the account of Meribah, Moses strikes the rock with the rod and God causes water to flow (Exod 17:5-6). The rod is the symbol of leadership; it implies that Moses acts with the power of God.

Moses is the “prophet” (נביא) *par excellence*, even though in the Torah he is only mentioned as a prophet twice (Deut 18:9; 34:10). However, in the book of Hosea there are many allusions to a prophet who brought the people of Israel out of the Egypt even though Moses is not directly named (Hos 2:16; 9:10; 11:1; 12:14; 13:4-6). According to C. Nihan,¹⁶⁹ Moses is defined as a prophet in Deuteronomy 18:9-22 and, in Deuteronomy 5:23-31, the people refuse to hear the voice of the Lord and they ask Moses to be an intermediary with the Lord. The prophetic role is accomplished when YHWH speaks to Moses פה אל־פה “mouth to mouth” entering into intimacy with him. For this reason, Moses is the foremost prophet, because after him all prophets will have to confirm the truth of the Torah and its accomplishment.

¹⁶⁷ J. BRIEND, “Élie et Moïse,” *Le Monde de la Bible* 58 (1989) 30.

¹⁶⁸ G.W. COATS, *Moses: heroic man, man of God* (Sheffield, 1988) 159, 165.

¹⁶⁹ C. NIHAN, “Un prophète comme Moïse (Deutéronome 18,15): Genèse et relectures d’une construction deutéronomiste,” in T. RÔMER, ed., *La construction de la figure de Moïse. The Construction of the Figure of Moses*, Transeuphratène. Supplément 13 (Paris, 2007) 48.

Moreover K. Schmid¹⁷⁰ notes that Deuteronomy 34:10 returns to Deuteronomy 18:15-18, but the latter verse contradicts the former because Moses is the only great prophet and וְלֹא־קָם נְבִיא עוֹד “never arise in Israel a prophet like Moses”. In this case, Deuteronomy 34:10 marks a separation between Moses and other prophets that will follow him. As argued by T. Römer,¹⁷¹ in Numbers 11:17 Moses is not labelled as a prophet, thus YHWH takes a part of the spirit of Moses and distributes it to 70 elders that represent the people of Israel. In this way the elders will be able to take the burden of the people. Then, in the next chapter the Lord explains to Moses, Aaron and Miriam that he reveals himself to the prophets with vision and dreams, but not so with Moses because the Lord speaks with him פְּנִים אֶל־פְּנִים “face to face” and פֶּה אֶל־פֶּה “mouth to mouth” (Exod 33:11; Numb 12:6-8). This expresses that Moses has a greater role than prophets and priests.

Moses is the פֶּלֶל/פְּנִי “mediator and intercessor” between God and Israel. He prays and implores for Israel (Exod 5:22-23; 32:11-14; Numb 11:2; 21:7; Deut 9:18-19; 25:9; 10:10-11). In these roles Moses and God have a direct contact and share a particular space, such as the Tent of the Meeting or the Mountain (e.g.: Exod 31:18; 33:9-11; 34:4, 29; Lev 1:1; Numb 1:1; 7:89; Deut 31:14). The relationship between Moses and God is so solid that, according to G.W. Coats,¹⁷² in Exodus 34 when Moses comes down Mount Sinai the skin of his face is radiant (Exod 34:29), so that before the people he puts a veil over his face, but when he enters the Tent of the Meeting he removes the veil and speaks פְּנִים אֶל־פְּנִים “face to face” with God. This sign represents the intimacy between God and Moses and as a result the people are conscious of their relationship.

Moses is a עַבַּד “servant”¹⁷³ an expression that is often used in the Hebrew Bible and has a wide range of meanings.¹⁷⁴ W. Zimmerli¹⁷⁵ argues that, with reference to Moses, the expression עַבַּד אֱלֹהִים “servant of God” underlines the relationship between the servant and God. This title suggests a set of roles in which Moses is the central figure of the events (Exod 14:31; Numb 12:7-8; Deut 34:5), and it is synonymous with אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים “man of God” according to the book of Joshua 14:6-7 in which both epithets are used to indicate one person that has authority about decisions; but according to Jeremiah 7:25¹⁷⁶ it is also a prophetic designation. However, in relation to Moses, this title is often

¹⁷⁰ K. SCHMID, “La formation des Nebiim,” in J.D. MACCHI – C. NIHAN – T. RÖMER – J. RÜCKL, eds., *Les recueils prophétiques de la Bible. Origines, milieux, et contexte proche-oriental*, Monde de la Bible 64 (Genève, 2012) 125.

¹⁷¹ D.V. EDELMAN - P.R. DAVIES – C. NIHAN - T. RÖMER, *Opening the Books of Moses*, Bible World 1, (Sheffield/Bristol, 2012) 163.

¹⁷² G.W. COATS, *Moses: heroic man, man of God* (Sheffield, 1988) 174.

¹⁷³ HALOT 2:775.

¹⁷⁴ See Z. ZEVIT, “The use of עַבַּד as a Diplomatic Term in Jeremiah,” *Journal biblical Literature* 88/1 (1969) 74-77; the term “servant” has a basic meaning as slave and/or worshiper, then it is used with a technical meaning of vassal (e.g. Jer 25:9).

¹⁷⁵ W. ZIMMERLI – J. JEREMIAS, *The Servant of God, Studies in Biblical Theology* 20 (London, 1952) 22-24.

¹⁷⁶ Jer 26:5; 35:15; 44:4; 2 Kgs 9:7; 17:13; Ezek 38:17; Zech 1:6.

expressed in the book of Joshua to validate his authority and as written in Joshua 1:7,¹⁷⁷ he obeys the Law.

J. Blenkinsopp¹⁷⁸ suggests that עֶבֶד “servant” is a Deuteronomistic expression that defines Moses and his original mission and is also used with reference to some biblical figures. According to G.W. Coats,¹⁷⁹ in three specific quotations in which Moses is labelled as עֶבֶד “servant”, the particular relationship is expressed between Moses and God (Exod 14:31; Numb 12:78; Deut 34:5). The figure of Moses emerges in these quotations, but it is a sign of the presence of God in Moses. Then it appears that Moses is a symbol of God and the promises of God are achieved through the mouth of Moses.

Moses is also defined as מֶלֶךְ “king” and מֹשֶׁה תּוֹרָה “lawgiver”. These two epithets are parallel because usually a king is also a lawgiver. In this context it is necessary to specify that in the Hebrew Bible only God is king. In the Hebrew Bible, the noun מֶלֶךְ is referred to God (47 times). This term is employed to emphasize some royal aspects of God: e.g., leader,¹⁸⁰ shepherd,¹⁸¹ judge,¹⁸² warrior.¹⁸³ Titles that are also present for human kings. Scholars¹⁸⁴ highlighted the differences affirming that especially in the Psalms,¹⁸⁵ God is more stressed for his royal qualities. However, M.Z. Bretler¹⁸⁶ demonstrates that the royalty of God is strengthened by the words בְּרָא, “creator” and עָשָׂה, “maker” of Israel (Isa 43:15; Ps 149:2). In Israel never a king is labelled with these words because God is the only One who is able to extend His power beyond the human being. God is the only One who creates man, and the expression “God is king” suggests the overcoming of divine royalty over the human one. Thus, all the biblical expressions that emphasize the human being, must be read as submitted to God, because the biblical author is inclined to humanize God.

Returning to Moses, in the biblical history he was never called king but he appears as a king in the tale of exodus; he is also named shepherd (Exod 3:1) that is synonymous with a royal title. T.

¹⁷⁷ See also Josh 1:13, 15; 8:31, 33; 9:24; 11:12, 15; 12:6; 13:8; 14:7; 22:2, 45; and G.W. COATS, *Moses: heroic man, man of God* (Sheffield, 1988) 183.

¹⁷⁸ J. BLENKINSOPP, *A History of Prophecy in Israel: from the Settlement in Land to the Hellenistic Period* (London, 1984) 189-190.

¹⁷⁹ G.W. COATS, *Moses: heroic man, man of God* (Sheffield, 1988) 183-185.

¹⁸⁰ Ps 74:12.

¹⁸¹ Mic 2:13.

¹⁸² Ps 82.

¹⁸³ Ps 24; Zech 14.

¹⁸⁴ See J. GRAY, “The Hebrew Conception of the Kingship of God: Its Origin and Development,” *Vetus Testamentum* 6/3 (1956) 268-285; J.D.W. WATTS, “YHWH Malak Psalms,” *Theologische Zeitschrift* 21 (1965) 341-348; A. GELSTON, “A note on מֶלֶךְ יְהוָה,” *Vetus Testamentum* 16/4 (1966) 507-512; M.Z. BRETTLER, *God is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor* (Sheffield, 1991).

¹⁸⁵ J.D.W. WATTS, “YHWH Malak Psalms,” *Theologische Zeitschrift* 21 (1965) 341-348, explains that some Psalms use the expression “YHWH malak” to exalt the figure of YHWH. J.D.W. WATTS inserts the Psalms in which “YHWH malak” is cited with others Psalms that can be classified as subgroups because YHWH is otherwise stressed. In this way it is possible to note the multiple biblical vision of YHWH.

¹⁸⁶ M.Z. BRETTLER, *God is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor* (Sheffield, 1991) 32.

Römer¹⁸⁷ affirms that in Israel the kings do not receive divine orders to promulgate laws, but they must act according to the Law of Moses. This implies that King Josiah was labelled as a “perfect king” because he was in full agreement with the Law of Moses (2 Kgs 23:25).

In Deuteronomy 17 when God instructs Moses about a future king for the people, the king will have to follow the Law and וכתב לו את־משנה התרה הזאת על־ספר מלפני הכהנים הלויים “he shall write for himself a copy of this Torah in a book from the one before the priests and the Levites”, (17:18). Unlike Moses, the king will be an executor of the Law and not a mediator. Therefore, Moses is both king and lawgiver. As a lawgiver, when the people are not able to hear the voice of God directly (Exod 20:18) Moses is charged to communicate between God and the people. In this event the authority of Moses is recognized, he decrees by divine authority. Again, Moses gives specific instructions about the partition of the land (Numb 34:1-29) and the land will be divided according to the command that God gave to Moses.

Moses is a שפט “judge” *par excellence*: in Exodus 18 he appoints capable men to judge the people, while difficult matters are brought to Moses. All the Pentateuchal Codes are transmitted directly from YHWH to Moses, and then from Moses to the people. Furthermore, Moses will investigate some cases for which the rules do not appear to provide an answer (Exod 18:22).

Moses is never labelled as a priest although he is a descent of Levi (Exod 2:1-2; 6:16-25): the first mobile sanctuary is built by Moses who is instructed by God (Exod 25-27:21) but, in Exodus 29, God instructs Moses about the consecration of Aaron and his sons as priests, then in Leviticus 8, Moses consecrates them, assuming a priestly role. God communicates to Moses all the rules for the sacrifices and then Moses transmits them to Aaron (Lev 1:1; 4:1, 14; 6:1; 8:1). Despite these roles, Aaron appears subordinate to Moses because, as noted by T. Römer,¹⁸⁸ when Moses speaks to the Pharaoh, Aaron is the mouth of Moses (Exod 4:16); also, in front of the Pharaoh, Moses is called “*Elohim*” of Aaron (Exod 4:16) and then “*Elohim*” of the Pharaoh (Exod 7:1).

Moses is also labelled איש האלהים “man of God” (Deut 33:1; Josh 14:6; Ps 90:1; 1 Chr 23:14; 2 Chr 30:16; Ezra 3:3) an epithet that defines a relationship between the man and God Himself. Examining these passages more closely, G.W. Coats¹⁸⁹ affirms that in the books of Deuteronomy and Psalms there is a poetic context, because they appear as simple ascriptions, while in the other quotations the epithet has an intensifying character that places more authority on Moses. In the books of 2 Chronicles and Ezra there is the same effect, because in them the celebration of Passover is recounted. Hezekiah convenes all Israel and Judah to celebrate Passover in Jerusalem, in the Temple

¹⁸⁷ T.C. RÖMER, “Moses, the Royal Lawgiver,” in D.V. EDELMAN – E. BEN ZVI, ed., *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods Social Memory and Imagination* (Oxford, 2013) 82.

¹⁸⁸ D.V. EDELMAN - P.R. DAVIES – C. NIHAN - T. RÖMER, *Opening the Books of Moses, Bible World 1*, (Sheffield/Bristol, 2012) 169.

¹⁸⁹ G.W. COATS, *Moses: heroic man, man of God* (Sheffield, 1988) 179.

of the Lord. Hezekiah wishes to renew the covenant with the Lord and he decides to purify the Temple, in order to begin with worship. In this context, priests and Levites sanctify themselves according to the תורה משה איש־האלהים “Torah of Moses, man of God” and celebrate Passover. Likewise, in the book of Ezra, after the return from the Babylonian exile, the people set up the altar according to the תורה משה איש־האלהים “Torah of Moses man of God” to celebrate the festival of Tabernacles. In these two passages Moses is emphasized as a איש האלהים “man of God” and as a lawgiver because he is remembered for his Torah. In Joshua 14:6, Moses is named איש האלהים “man of God” as a mediator because Caleb who is a Kenizzite speaking to Joshua recalls the instructions that God gave to Moses about the portion of the land at Kadesh-Barnea. In this case, God validates the word of Moses, because the instructions were given from God to Moses. In 1 Chronicles 23:14 Moses is labelled איש האלהים “man of God” for his prophetic role. In this pericope the offspring of the sons of Levi are described and the descendants of Moses are counted in the tribe of Levi. However, in this context the descendants of Aaron are especially emphasized rather than those of Moses, to accentuate the pre-eminence of priestly lineage in Moses and his family. The epithet איש האלהים “man of God” seems to be an emphasis relating to Moses.

However, these roles of Moses mark the relationship between him and God, because the authority and the image of Moses belong to God. According to A.P. Jassen,¹⁹⁰ in 2 Chronicles 30:16 and Ezra 3:3 Moses is not a prophet, but he is emphasized as a prophetic mediator of divine command.

The multivalent roles of Moses seem to be rooted in his relationship with God. In all the cases analysed above, Moses acts as commanded by God. The authority of Moses is a delegation of divine authority. The validation of every deed of Moses is an application of the plan of God. Moses is a mediator between God and Israel, a lawgiver of God, a messenger of God and he is also a servant of God. He acts as a judge for God and as an intercessor with God for the people. Each of these roles expresses the relationship between Moses and God; a relationship that implies an intimacy with the Lord. Moses in the Hebrew Bible is a multivalent figure.

¹⁹⁰ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 110, n. 68.

4.1.2. Elijah as “man of God” (איש האלהים)

The title איש האלהים “man of God” is frequently used in the Hebrew Bible, as Moses,¹⁹¹ Samuel,¹⁹² David,¹⁹³ Elijah,¹⁹⁴ Elisha,¹⁹⁵ Shemaiah,¹⁹⁶ and some anonymous people are labelled with this epithet. Among scholars there are conflicting opinions about the meaning of the expression איש האלהים “man of God”.

W. Schniedewind¹⁹⁷ notes that in the Hebrew Bible the epithet is especially used for the narrative of Elijah and Elisha as miracle workers. Also, A. Rofé¹⁹⁸ argues that in the narrative of Elijah and Elisha the title איש האלהים “man of God” is indicative of one who performs a miracle. Some scholars¹⁹⁹ believe that this title could be honorific, synonymous with prophet (*nābî*) and מלאכ יהוה “messenger of YHWH”.

However, the role of the איש האלהים “man of God” is interchangeable with the prophet (*nābî*) in 1 Samuel 9:6-10, as well as in 1 Kings 13 in which the anonymous personage, while on the one hand named man of God and working miracles (vv. 4, 6), on the other hand has a prophetic role announcing the word of God (vv. 1-3). In the same story, the prophet of Bethel will define the man of God as a prophet like him (v. 18). W. Schniedewind²⁰⁰ notes that, in the book of Chronicles and in Malachi 3:23, Elijah is not labelled as איש האלהים “man of God” but as *nābî* (2 Chr 21:12) although in the narrative of 1-2 Kings he appears as איש האלהים “man of God” and also prophet. This is an unusual case because in the book of Chronicles the איש האלהים “man of God” often has the role of advisor of the king, while in 2 Chronicles 11:2-4; 25:7-9 the איש האלהים “man of God” takes the role of both prophet and advisor. It is obvious that it is not easy to have a clear idea about the איש האלהים “man of God”. However, F. Gangloff²⁰¹ attributes the diversity of the Biblical history to a range of redactions (pre-exilic, post-exilic, exilic, and deuteronomistic). This distinction could make possible

¹⁹¹ Deut 33:1; Jos 14:6; Ps 90:1; Ezra 3:2; 1 Chr 23:14; 2 Chr 30:16.

¹⁹² 1 Sam 9:6-10.

¹⁹³ Neh 12:24, 36; 2 Chr 8:14.

¹⁹⁴ 1 Kgs 17:18, 24; 20:28; 2 Kgs 1.

¹⁹⁵ 2 Kgs 4; 5:8, 14-15, 20; 6:6, 9-10, 15; 7:2, 17-19; 8:2, 4, 7, 8, 11.

¹⁹⁶ 1 Kgs 12:22; 2 Chr 11:1.

¹⁹⁷ W.M. SCHNIEDEWIND, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement 197 (Sheffield, 1995) 46, 48.

¹⁹⁸ A. ROFÉ, “The Prophetic Stories. The Narratives about the Prophets in the Hebrew Bible. Their Literary Types and History,” in E. CINDORF – S. DEUTSCH eds., *Publications of the Perry Foundation for Biblical Research in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1988) 14.

¹⁹⁹ See J.A. HOLSTEIN, “The Case of איש האלהים Reconsidered: Philological Analysis versus Historical Reconstruction,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 48 (1977) 69-81; P. JOÛON, “Locutions hébraïques: איש האלהים homme de Dieu,” *Biblica* 3/1 (1922) 55; R. HALLEVY, “Man of God,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 17/4 (1958) 239; M. COGAN, *1 Kings: a new translation with introduction and commentary* (New York, 2001) 367.

²⁰⁰ W.M. SCHNIEDEWIND, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement 197 (Sheffield, 1995) 49-50.

²⁰¹ F. GANGLOFF, “L’Homme d’Elohim (איש)ה (איש)ה,” *Biblische Notizen* 100 (1999) 61.

a comprehensible multiplicity of roles. Examining the times where Elijah is defined as איש האלהים “man of God” it is possible to understand the task of Elijah in relation to this epithet.

In 1 Kings, Elijah is in Zarephath of Sidon, where he works wonders with a widow who has no more flour and oil (1 Kgs 17:16). He then he brings her son back to life (1 Kgs 17:22) and the widow recognizes Elijah as איש האלהים “man of God” (1 Kgs 17:24)

In 2 Kings, Elijah is the foremost prophet because he announces that the king will die because he has consulted the god of Ekron (2 Kgs 1:6). Then, when the messengers of the king return to him, Elijah is directly called איש האלהים “man of God” (2 Kgs 1:9). In this context, Elijah איש האלהים “man of God” brings down fire from heaven against the messengers of Aḥaziah (2 Kgs 1:11-14). In these events Elijah איש האלהים “man of God” appears as a charismatic man endowed with supernatural forces and is also able to dispense happiness and prosperity as well as curses. Furthermore, when Elijah performs wonders in the name of God, he acts as a prophet (*nābī*) and for that reason the roles seem confused. In the tale of 1 Kings 13:11-32, the איש האלהים “man of God” and the prophet are put in parallel. It seems to show us the differences between them, because the איש האלהים “man of God” is a man who announces prosperity, has supernatural force and accomplishes magic rituals. Instead, the prophet appears as a passive man learning to announce the word of God. In the case of Elijah, in the event with the prophets of Baal, as the Lord made fire descend from heaven to consume the burnt offering (1 Kgs 18:38), in the same way Elijah brought down fire from heaven against Aḥaziah (2 Kgs 1:11-14). Elijah acts as איש האלהים “man of God”, but he also keeps the features of the prophet because he announces the will of the Lord. According to R. Hallevy²⁰² the איש האלהים “man of God” acts as a messenger of YHWH.

The whole of the story of Elijah is marked by supernatural events: Elijah commands the drought (1 Kgs 17:1), raises the dead (1 Kgs 17:23), brings down the rain (1 Kgs 18:45), meets God on Mount Horeb in a theophanic event (1 Kgs 19:11), curses Aḥab and his wife Jezebel (1 Kgs 21:22), prophesies against Aḥaziah (2 Kgs 1:4), divides the waters of the Jordan (2 Kgs 2:8) and goes up to heaven in a whirlwind (2 Kgs 2:11). In the Hebrew Bible nobody accomplishes similar prodigies, except for Elisha who does so in different way. It is therefore necessary to compare Elijah and Elisha to better understand the figure of Elijah.

Elisha is a controversial figure because, as expressed by F. Gangloff,²⁰³ he has strong powers and acts like a shaman with paranormal phenomena. G. Bohak²⁰⁴ notes that Elisha never follows his master Elijah who punishes the prophets of Baal, sends drought, helps the widow and raises the dead. In fact, Elisha is vindictive against some children who tease him (2 Kgs 2:24) and he makes wonders

²⁰² R. HALLEVY, “Man of God,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 17/4 (1958) 240.

²⁰³ F. GANGLOFF, “L’Homme d’Elohim (איש האלהים),” *Biblische Notizen* 100 (1999) 70.

²⁰⁴ G. BOHAK, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History*, (Cambridge, 2008) 22-23.

in quantities. Elisha is the direct successor of Elijah who sends him a double portion of his spirit (2 Kgs 2:9-15). In the tale of the bringing back to life of the Shunammite's son, only when the miracle fails does Elisha invoke God (2 Kgs 4:29-35). Elisha acts telepathically (2 Kgs 6:32), predicts future events (2 Kgs 7:1-2, 16-20; 8:12), heals the water of Jericho with a potion (2 Kgs 2:21), and is able to be present in spirit when Gehazi takes money from Naaman (2 Kgs 5:26). He also performs so-called magical acts (2 Kgs 6:6) and tells the king about secret things (2 Kgs 6:12), and after his death he brings back to life a man whose body comes into contact with his (Elisha's) own remains in the grave (2 Kgs 13:21).

All these events illustrate a person with a set of features that are sometimes inconsistent. Even though there are paranormal events, Elisha does not always act as a *איש האלהים* "man of God" or a prophet, but sometimes seems to perform for his own interest. Elisha is the only man that has a circle of followers who stay with him on the day of Sabbath and New Moon (4:23); moreover he has the practice of accepting gifts and presents (2 Kgs 4:42; 8:8-9).

Even though there are many connections between Elijah and Elisha, scholars have contrasting opinions²⁰⁵ about them but I believe that Elijah really acts as *איש האלהים* "man of God" more than Elisha. Elijah has a particular relationship with God, he makes wonders only in the name of God and he also assumes a prophetic role and acts like a messenger. In short, the epithet *איש האלהים* "man of God" is not very clear. Surely the *איש האלהים* "man of God" is in intense communion with the divinity, inheriting His supernatural characteristics. These could define a prophet (*nābī*), because the title sometimes is applied to the same person (1 Sam 3:20; 9:6-8), or a messenger that is also able to predict the future and to foretell calamities.²⁰⁶ However, the epithet *איש האלהים* "man of God" shows some particular characteristics that define it in a specific way.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ See i.e. R. HALLEVY, "Man of God," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 17/4 (1958) 241, suggests that the figure of Elisha is constructed following Elijah and both are like a duplicate. F. GANGLOFF, "L'Homme d'Elohim (איש)ה(אלהים)," *Biblische Notizen* 100 (1999) 70, notes that in Elijah the epithet "man of God" assumes a different connotation from Elisha. A. ROFÉ, *The Prophetic Stories. The Narratives about the Prophets in the Hebrew Bible, Their Types Literary and History*, in E. CINDORF – S. DEUTSCH eds., *Publications of the Perry Foundation for Biblical Research in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1988) 14, argues that in the narratives of Elijah – Elisha, the "man of God" is one who performs miracles.

²⁰⁶ R. HALLEVY, "Man of God," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 17/4 (1958) 239, explains that in Judg 13, *mal'akh* appears alternatively, as *מלאך יהוה* and *מלאך אלהים*. In the first case, *mal'akh 'Elohim* is present twice while the second ten times. *Mal'akh 'Elohim* means "a divine messenger" instead *mal'akh YHWH* symbolizes the incarnation of God. In the tale of Judg 13, Manoah and his wife labelled the *Mal'akh* as *'Ish 'Elohim* (vv. 6, 8, 10-11) while he is *Mal'akh YHWH*. Notwithstanding there is a different meaning, they appear to be interchangeable.

²⁰⁷ See: W.M. SCHNIEDEWIND, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period*, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement* 197 (Sheffield, 1995) 51.

4.1.3. Similarities and Dissimilarities between Moses and Elijah in the Hebrew Bible

In the previous pages, Moses appears as multivalent because he is a servant of God, a man of God, a mediator, an intercessor, a lawgiver, a prophet, a priest, a shepherd and a king. Anthropologically, it seems impossible for one person to assume all these roles; nevertheless, Moses has all these features. Memories of Moses are often tied to the exodus, the Torah, and the exile: all historical events that marked the people of Israel. Moses was not the author of these events, but the instrument with which God conducted history. A significant episode is the tale of the Golden Calf. In Exodus 32 Moses is invited by the Lord to return to his people, as declared by the Lord: *כי שחת עמך* “because your people, that you brought out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves” (Exod 32:7). According to G.W. Coats,²⁰⁸ in this tale the Golden Calf is a prototype of Moses and not of God, because the people know Moses and not God. In fact, God declares to Moses “Your people . . . that you . . .” It seems a paradox, but the task of Moses is truly to be a mediator or an instrument between God and the people. Moses understands the people and intercedes for them with God (Exod 32:11).

As confirmation, in Hosea 12:14 it is claimed, *ובנביא העלה יהוה את־ישראל ממצרים ובנביא נשמר* “By a prophet the Lord brought out Israel from the Egypt, and by a prophet he was preserved”. This denotes that Moses is only an agent while God is the author of the event. In my opinion, the role of Moses is to make God known to Israel, because the Lord brings the people out of Egypt, he builds a history with Israel and then he brings the people to the Promised Land. Moses will be the means of communication between God and Israel. For this reason, Moses is entrusted with giving the Torah and the precepts to the people. The relationship between Moses and God is so deep that if the people rebel against Moses, it is like a rebellion against God. When the people shout at Moses, he prays to the Lord (Exod 32, Numb 14, and Deut 9-10). Moses saves Israel, interceding for it before God. Everything that Moses accomplishes - his greatness, his acts, his wonders - must lead the people to God, because everything has been perpetrated by Him. For that reason, Moses is the prophet *par excellence* and the people of Israel is witness to this intimate relationship between Moses and the Lord (Exod 33:7-11; Numb 12:6-8; Deut 34:10).

From this perspective, in the Hebrew Bible nobody is comparable to Moses. The only possibility is Elijah although he has other features. Moses is multivalent, implying that he accomplishes all the functions that we can imagine for the divine plan, and Elijah is not a multivalent figure, but he has very strong powers given by God and for that reason, Elijah is comparable to Moses. However, the parallels between Moses and Elijah have already been stressed and, in fact, they appear

²⁰⁸ G.W. COATS, *Moses: heroic man, man of God* (Sheffield, 1988) 159.

complementary in some ways: thus both Moses and Elijah perform wonders but in different ways. In relation to the performance of wonders, in the Torah some practices of divination and magic are forbidden by God (Exod 22:17; Lev 19:26; 20:27; Deut 18:10). On the one hand God abhors these practices, and on the other hand, he instructs Israel to ask advice from judges, scribes, prophets and priests for a peaceful life (Deut 16:18-18:8). So, through the people, God reveals his will without occult practices or worship of foreign gods.

G. Bohak²⁰⁹ dealing with the איש האלהים “man of God”, suggests that in the Hebrew Bible the word קסם divination is sometimes used to indicate a lawful practice (Isa 3:2-3, Jer 27:9; Prov 16:10). In these quotations, קסם *qosem* is equated to soldier, warrior and prophet. This analogy is very odd because it is contradictory and because magic is not forbidden if it is accomplished in the name of God, even though his Name must not be spoken falsely (Exod 20:7; Deut 5:11). In the Hebrew Bible the word uttering the Name of YHWH has great power and efficacy,²¹⁰ in fact the Lord prohibits Moses from mentioning the name of gods (Exod 23:13) but asks him to pronounce his Name to bless the people (Exod 20:21). All these circumstances are present in the lives of Moses and Elijah as well as of Joshua and Elisha, because they worked wonders and could sometimes be equated to “magicians”²¹¹ but God Himself instructs them, as in the account in which God gives commands to Moses about the ingredients to use (Exod 9:8-10) and the ways of acting (Exod 15:25). In these events Moses uses natural materials. G. Bohak²¹² notes a similarity when God commands Moses to build a copper serpent for the safety of the people (Numb 21:6-9). In this circumstance the serpent is not a cult implement, but a tool. Even when Aaron and Moses challenge the magicians of the Pharaoh (Exod 7:8-12) there is not any difference between them except that Aaron and Moses are sent by God while the magicians are acting in the interests of the Pharaoh. Likewise, Elijah and Elisha achieve wonders like Moses, because even though Moses is labelled as a leader, a prophet, and a lawgiver, he performs exceptional events,²¹³ and like Joshua when he commands the sun and the moon to stay still (Josh 10:13); similarly, Elijah²¹⁴ and Elisha²¹⁵ perform wonders.

²⁰⁹ G. BOHAK, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History*, (Cambridge, 2008) 16-17.

²¹⁰ 1 Sam 17:45; 1 Kgs 18:24; 2 Kgs 2:24.

²¹¹ According to G. BOHAK, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History*, (Cambridge, 2008) 64-66: in Jewish world “magic is a set of beliefs and practices which aims to change reality by means which defy scientific explanation.” It means that the borderline between religion and magic is very subtle because collective fasting in the holidays of Sukkoth to avoid the drought, or to wear the *tephillin* (in Greek “amulets”), put the *mezuzah* on the doorposts, are actions with magical roles, like the recitation of the *Shema* in bed. All these practices became magical if done for a personal gain or return from God. According to this point of view Judaism is magic. However, it is important to distinguish what is magical from what is normative or *halakhic*. The author makes an important point when he opines that in Jewish culture there are some processes in which a thing that is magic now, in the future cannot have any value, as with the copper serpent of Moses (Exod 7:9-12) that became idolized (Numb 21:6-9) and was destroyed by Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:4).

²¹² G. BOHAK, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge, 2008) 26-27, 32.

²¹³ Exod 14:21, 27; 15:25; 17:6, 11-12.

²¹⁴ 1 Kgs 16:16, 22; 17:1, 23; 18:38, 43-45; 2 Kgs 1:6, 11-14; 2:8, 11.

²¹⁵ 2 Kgs 2:21; 5:26; 6:6, 12, 32; 7:1-2, 16-20; 8:12; 13:21.

In previous pages we have noted that when Elijah throws his mantle over Elisha (1 Kgs 19:19), he leaves his gifts to Elisha. In this case, as with Moses and Joshua, the powers are used in a different way and the gifts of God even though transferred are altered. Moreover, Elisha performs miracles²¹⁶ that sometimes fail (2 Kgs 4:29-31); he also curses for his own advantage, acting aggressively (2 Kgs 2:24).

G. Bohak²¹⁷ notes that the difference between the *איש האלהים* “man of God” and the magicians is due to the fact that the *איש האלהים* “man of God” operates only for God, emulating magic acts, while the magicians make wonders using symbols, special words and materials for personal interests, or for their clients, also using illicit actions.

According to these tales Elijah has an atypical mediation role because he is not a leader, a lawgiver and a king like Moses, but exerts priestly, prophetic and thaumaturgic mediation.

In the tale of Elijah and the prophets of Baal (1 Kgs 18), it is unusual to note that both Elijah and the men of Baal are labelled *נביאים* “prophets” and not priests even though both exercise a priestly role. M.A. Sweeney²¹⁸ argues that the ritual preparation of the altar and the cult seems to be exercised by the priests because they are acting professionally. Moreover, when Elijah invokes the divine name, he acts like the priest in the Temple. M.A. Sweeney²¹⁹ also opines that the theophanic experience on Mount Horeb marks the priestly element in Elijah because revelation is delineated in the encounter with YHWH, as with the High Priest in the Temple of Jerusalem.

Furthermore, Elijah accomplishes exceptional events because he has features that distinguish him from Moses. They appear complementary and Elijah seems to complete Moses in his practices. For that reason, with Elijah there is a new category of mediation.

4.1.4. Malachi 3:22-24

The book of Malachi²²⁰ is the last of the Minor Prophets and it was written around 515-440

²¹⁶ According to G. BOHAK, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge, 2008) 24-25: in the Hebrew Bible miracles are often performed by the “men of God” that with their miracles are able to help the people and solve many problems. The wonder-workers are anti-magicians that are not tolerated within the Jewish society. Moreover, it is interesting to note that in the Jewish world there exist only men of God and not women that perform miracles. It seems to be a masculine prerogative.

²¹⁷ G. BOHAK, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge, 2008) 21, 27.

²¹⁸ M.A. SWEENEY, Prophets and Priests in the Deuteronomistic History: Elijah and Elisha, in M.R. JACOBS – R.F. PERSON Jr., eds., *Israelite Prophecy and the Deuteronomistic History, Portrait, Reality, and the Formation of a History*, Ancient Israel and Its Literature, Society of Biblical Literature 14 (Atlanta, 2013) 35-38.

²¹⁹ M.A. SWEENEY, Prophets and Priests in the Deuteronomistic History: Elijah and Elisha, in M.R. JACOBS – R.F. PERSON Jr., eds., *Israelite Prophecy and the Deuteronomistic History, Portrait, Reality, and the Formation of a History*, Ancient Israel and Its Literature, Society of Biblical Literature 14 (Atlanta, 2013) (Atlanta, 2013) 41.

²²⁰ G. BOGGIO, “I Profeti del dopo esilio,” in B. MARCONCINI ed., *Profeti e Apocalittici* 3 (Torino, 1994) 181.

B.C.E.,²²¹ surely long after the return from the Babylonian exile. It is useful to know the historical time to understand some exegetical explanations. In his book, Malachi denounces worship because it seems to be altered (1:6-2:9), there are intermarriages and divorces (2:10-16) as well as situations of social injustice, and he condemns the sons of Levi (2:17-3:5; 3:13-21). These actions highlight that, after the exile, the Temple of Jerusalem was completed, and worship was distorted. At the end of the book of Malachi, 3:22-24, there is the connection between Moses and Elijah. These quotes have deuteronomic²²² features and seem to be unrelated to the book itself. However, it is the only pericope in which Moses and Elijah appear together:

זכרו תורת משה עבדי אשר צויתי אותו בחרב על־כל־ישראל חקים ומשפטים²²
הנה אנכי שלח לכם את אליה הנביא לפני בוא יום יהוה הגדול והנורא²³
והשיב לב־אבות על־בנים ולב בנים על־אבותם פן־אבוא והכיתי את־הארץ חרם²⁴

²²Remember the Torah of my servant Moses whom I charged on Mount Horeb with rules and laws for all Israel. ²³Lo, I send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of YHWH. ²⁴Will return the heart of fathers to the sons and the heart of sons to the fathers because when I come, I do not strike the Land with destruction.

When analysing an expression like זכר “remember-recall-call to mind”, it must be interpreted with the meaning of “to remember the Torah of Moses” and also “to obey the Torah and its precepts”. The expression עבד משה “servant Moses” also implies that Moses is called to serve God because Moses is a mediator of God. In this context, Malachi emphasizes the Torah of Moses and the rules and precepts that must be fulfilled by the people of Israel. The expression כל־ישראל “all Israel” confirms the election of the people that is a chosen people. Moses convenes כל־ישראל “all Israel” in the passage of the Decalogue (Deut 5:1), as well as when he recalls the people to the covenant with YHWH (Deut 29:1,9-29). Here, the covenant embodies the past and the present because it is a definitive covenant. However, the most important and debated verse is Malachi 3:24 because scholars have divergent but plausible opinions. The disputed point is tied to the reconciliation between fathers

²²¹ See e.g.: E.H. MERRILL, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: an exegetical commentary* (Dallas, 2003) 323-329; A.E. HILL, *Malachi: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible (New York, 1998) 51, they suppose that Malachi is located between the rule of King Darius I (522-486 B.C.E.) and the death of King Artaxerxes I (424 B.C.E.); B. GLAZIER-Mc DONALD, *Malachi. The Divine Messenger* (Atlanta, 1987) 16-18, n. 98, opines that Malachi belongs to a period between 470-450 B.C.E. before the arrival of Nehemiah. This date is connected with the reigns of Xerxes (485-465 B.C.E.) and Artaxerxes I (465-425 B.C.E.). F. SNYMAN, *Malachi* (Leuven, 2015) 2-3, dates the book of Malachi during the Persian Empire (460-450 B.C.E.) even though many scholars propose a wide range of dates. This date is approximate according to the claims of the prophet Malachi about the distorted worship to the Temple (1:6-2:9); the intermarriage with foreign women (2:10-16); and the fraud for tithing (3:6-12).

²²² According to B. GLAZIER-Mc DONALD, *Malachi. The Divine Messenger* (Atlanta, 1987) 246, 250, n. 98: the word (זכר) remember, recall, call to mind, is used in D literature (Deut 9:7, 27; 24:9; 25:7; 32:17), as well as Horeb (חרב) that appoints the mountain of Moses and Elijah (Deut 1:6; 4:10, 15; 5:2; 9:8; 18:16), but in P literature Sinai (סני) is used. Again, the expression servant (עבד) is also a D term even though it appears once in Deuteronomy and then in the books of Joshua and Kings (Deut 34:5; Josh 1:1-2; 7, 13, 15; 8:31, 33; 9:24; 11:12, 15; 12:6; 13:8; 14:7; 18:7; 22:2, 4-5; 1 Kgs 8:53, 56; 2 Kgs 18:12; 21:8).

and children. P.A. Verhoef²²³ and A.E. Hill²²⁴ suggest that the task of Elijah is to bring the covenant between fathers and sons. This duality does not reflect the bloodline but means אבות “forefathers” and בנים “descendants”. P.A. Verhoef reads it in parallel with Isaiah 63:16 in which the forefathers are faithful to the Torah while posterity or the current generation is faithless. D.L. Petersen²²⁵ links father and children to Psalm 78 in which the fathers were unfaithful sinners but the mercy of God does not break the covenant and, even though על־בנים על־שלימים ועל־רבעים “to punish the guilt the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth (generations)” ולשמרי מצותי “showing mercy to thousands, to those who love Me and honour My precepts” in Exodus 20:5-6. B. Glazier-McDonald,²²⁶ opines that the Law of Moses recalls the time in which the people upheld the Law and served God. This reconciliation will be necessary for the coming of Elijah. In the Hebrew Bible the return of Elijah before the day of the Lord appears only in Malachi, and, according to Malachi, the role of Elijah will be to return the hearts of fathers to the hearts of their children and vice versa. B. Glazier-McDonald²²⁷ also argues that if this passage relates to Malachi himself, the prophet writes about the problems of his time, which is a time when Persian ideas had a strong ascendancy among the people of Israel (Mal 3:6-12). This is a time in which the intermarriages are present that YHWH prohibits (Deut 7:3) and Malachi abhors (Mal 2:10-14). E. Assis²²⁸ holds that this reconciliation is not a symbol of generational continuity, rather he imputes the term “fathers” to God, and the term “children” to the people of Israel. Therefore, the prophet will return the hearts of the people of Israel to God, and then the prophet will return God to the people of Israel. The coming of Elijah will be necessary to renew the covenant between the people of Israel and God. Indeed, Elijah will be the link between the parts, and he will mark the fulfilment of the promises. The interpretation of B. Glazier-McDonald could be accurate even though Malachi himself did not write these last verses. It is clear that the reality of that time is condemned, and the prophet is one who summons and rebukes the people.

Another important point of this quotation is the theme of שׁוּב “return/reconciliation”. This word can indicate apostasy and also repentance. According to J.B. Shaver,²²⁹ with reference to Zechariah 1:2-6, the word is used with reference to the Former Prophets when they call the forefathers (in this case the generation before the exile) to turn back to God. J.B. Shaver links the Former Prophets

²²³ P.A. VERHOEF, *The Book of Haggai and Malachi. New International Commentary on the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, 1987) 342-344.

²²⁴ A.E. HILL, *Malachi: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible (New York, 1998) 387-390.

²²⁵ D.L. PETERSEN, *Zechariah 9-14 and Malachi. A Commentary, Old Testament Library* (London, 1995) 232.

²²⁶ B. GLAZIER-Mc DONALD, *Malachi. The Divine Messenger* (Atlanta, 1987) 243, n. 98.

²²⁷ B. GLAZIER-Mc DONALD, *Malachi. The Divine Messenger* (Atlanta, 1987) 255, n. 98.

²²⁸ E. ASSIS, “Moses, Elijah and the Messianic Hope. A new reading of Malachi 3:22-24,” *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 123/2 (2011) 213-215.

²²⁹ J.B. SHAVER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of Second Temple Period* (Chicago, 2001) 117.

with Elijah who returns in the eschatological era to turn Israel back to God.

In this pericope of Malachi 3:22-24 it is possible to observe that God performs a transition from Moses to Elijah, because Moses is a prototype among the prophets. On Mount Sinai he receives the Torah from the Lord, and then he has the role of mediating the Torah to the people of Israel. In his book, Malachi exhorts Israel to return to God. The expression *זכר תורת משה* “remember the Torah of Moses”, is unique in the Hebrew Bible, because usually God gives the imperative *זכר* “remember” not implicating the Torah (1 Chr 16:12; Neh 4:14; 13:31; Ps 105:5; Isa 44:21; 46:8-9; Jer 51:50; Mic 6:5). Why does God give that ordinance? Because these latest verses recall the beginning of the book in which the prophet announces God’s mercy towards Israel (1:1-3) but in the meantime Malachi denounces the misdeeds of priests and people. There is an incitement towards laws of ethics that are not respected by the people (2:10-16; 3:6-8). Recalling the Torah, God remembers the covenant with Israel through Moses, before on Mount Sinai (Exod 19-24) and then in the region of Moab (Deut 1:5-6). The transition between Moses and Elijah finds its foundation in theophanic experiences on the Mountain. Moses receives the Torah on Mount Horeb, and Elijah on the same Mountain receives the command to return Israel to God and not Baal.

J.B. Shaver²³⁰ argues that in these passages the role of Moses is not prophetic, but he is like a person that receives the Torah from God, while Elijah assumes the role of prophet or second Moses. This means that in the transition between Moses and Elijah a change of role is involved, because through Moses God establishes his covenant with the people, while with Elijah the future of Israel is implied (1 Kgs 19). J.B. Shaver also opines that in Malachi 3:22-23 the author seems to de-emphasize the prophetic role of Moses because in this context Moses appears as the mediator that receives the Torah from God for the people, while Elijah must instead fill the role of the “prophet”. This assertion makes it possible that Elijah is regarded as “second Moses” or a prophet “like Moses” according to Deuteronomy 18:18. T. Collins²³¹ affirms that Moses and Elijah have a different theophanic experience and Elijah cannot be equated to Moses, because Moses is the first prophet that receives, in special way, the word of the Lord. He is like a recipient of this word: in fact Moses receives the word directly from YHWH (Numb 12:6). In Exodus 33:21-23 Moses meets YHWH that will cover him with His hand, and Moses will see God’s back. Instead, Elijah will only hear the voice of YHWH (1 Kgs 19:9-12). In this parallel it is possible to note that YHWH has two different approaches with Moses and Elijah. Moses is the recipient of the Torah, while Elijah is a prophet subordinate to the Torah.

²³⁰ J.B. SHAVER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of Second Temple Period* (Chicago, 2001) 106.

²³¹ T. COLLINS, *The Mantle of Elijah. The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetic Books* (Sheffield, 1993) 133.

However, T. Römer²³² asserts that the history of Elijah prepares the return of Elijah himself, as expressed in Malachi 3:22-24. In the book of 1 Kings the return of Elijah is emphasized. Before his ascension, Elijah acts like Moses but then, in 2 Kings 2:1-11 when the Lord takes up Elijah to heaven, he becomes more important than Moses because in his history Elijah exceeds Moses and introduces the eschatological and messianic concept of prophecy. In the book of Kings, prophetic conception reflects a Deuteronomistic presence: Moses in his history admonishes Israel when it murmurs against God, (Numb 14:26-30); likewise in the books of Kings, when God sends Elijah and other prophets to rebuke the king or announce the fall of the king. According to E. Ben Zvi,²³³ these stories are linked with Deuteronomy 18:14-22 because even though the prophetic model of Moses is exalted in the other verses (vv. 15, 18) YHWH will raise up a prophet that will be recognized by the community for the fulfilment of his prophecy. In this setting it is possible to observe that the books of Kings have historical narratives that are placed together with prophetic traditions. Therefore, in these books, prophets have political and social functions.

According to this perspective, the Deuteronomistic writer puts Elijah alongside Moses even though Elijah is subordinate to Moses because he follows in the footsteps of Moses. However, T. Römer²³⁴ argues that, in the books of the Kings, the Deuteronomistic author constructs Elijah as a second Moses surpassing Moses himself. Putting in parallel the events of Moses and Elijah, it is possible to observe a Deuteronomistic feature because Elijah criticises the worship of Baal and orders the killing the prophets of Baal as commanded in Deuteronomy 7 and 13. Then, the revelation of YHWH (1 Kgs 18) appears similar to the Deuteronomistic conception of theophanic manifestation (Deut 5:22-27). T. Collins²³⁵ offers an interesting interpretation about Elijah and Moses. He asserts that Elijah was modelled on Moses because in the Hebrew Bible the prophets are presented as successors of the Former prophet, as well as Elisha as the successor of Elijah. In this context, there is an inevitable parallel with Moses and Joshua, because as Moses divides the water of the Red Sea (Exod 14:21-22) likewise Joshua separates the waters of the Jordan (Josh 3:13-17). According to the command of God, Moses chooses Joshua as leader of the community, and invests him with his authority (Numb 27:18-20). At the death of Moses, the people obey Joshua as the Lord had commanded Moses (Deut 34:9).

²³² T.C. RÖMER, "Moses, Israel's First Prophet, and the Formation of the Deuteronomistic and Prophetic Libraries," in M.R. JACOBS – R.F. PERSON Jr., eds., *Israelite Prophecy and the Deuteronomistic History, Portrait, Reality, and the Formation of a History*, Ancient Israel and Its Literature, Society of Biblical Literature 14 (Atlanta, 2013) 142.

²³³ E. BEN ZVI, "Prophets and Prophecy in the Compositional and Redactional Notes in I - II Kings," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 105/3 (1993) 342.

²³⁴ T.C. RÖMER, "Moses, Israel's First Prophet, and the Formation of the Deuteronomistic and Prophetic Libraries," in M.R. JACOBS – R.F. PERSON Jr., eds., *Israelite Prophecy and the Deuteronomistic History, Portrait, Reality, and the Formation of a History*, Society of Biblical Literature. Ancient Israel and Its Literature 14 (Atlanta, 2013) 141-142.

²³⁵ T. COLLINS, *The Mantle of Elijah. The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetic Books* (Sheffield, 1993) 137.

According to the explanation in these quotations of Malachi, the histories of Moses and Elijah are not accidental because they have many connections even though there are some substantial dissimilarities. In the Hebrew Bible the story of Moses (Exod 1:11) is tied to the kingdom of Ramses. We do not know which Ramses it is; however, this dynasty extends from 1305 to 1080 B.C.E.²³⁶ Instead, that of Elijah belongs to the historical time of the kingdom of Aḥab (1 Kgs 16:28) around the 9th century B.C.E. However, J.L. Ska²³⁷ opines that the Pentateuch is post-exilic²³⁸ with some elements dating to the Persian period, but also including pre-exilic elements within it. Even though Moses and Elijah have different contexts, in the Biblical history they share the Deuteronomistic source in which, according to J.L. Ska,²³⁹ the deuteronomist worked during the Babylonian exile interpreting the history of Israel in the light of the Torah of Moses.

4.2. Conclusion

The figures of Moses and Elijah in the Hebrew Bible appear complementary because they have different specific features, even though they are similar, and their tales have parallels, especially the deuteronomistic features in the history of Elijah that recall the model of Moses.

In his multiple roles Moses is a multivalent figure with multiple characteristics connected by the relationship with YHWH. Each of these roles has its effect by virtue of the relationship that proceeds between God and Moses. It is an intimate relationship, shaping Moses as a mediator between God and the people of Israel. The role of mediation is recognized by God and also by the people themselves that glimpse in Moses the divine power.

However, Moses in front of God is also present in the name of people: Moses defines himself *שאהו בחיקך כאשר ישא האמן את־הינק* “carry them in your bosom as a nurse carries a child” (Numb 11:12). When the people are in difficulty, Moses brings their questions before God and intercedes for the

²³⁶ C. BARBOTIN, “Les Ramessides: de la gloire à la dislocation de l’empire,” *Le Monde de la Bible* 78 (1992) 17.

²³⁷ J.L. SKA, *Introduzione alla Scrittura del Pentateuco* (Bologna, 1998) 209.

²³⁸ It is necessary to explain that the Pentateuch consisting more scriptural sources: Elohist, Jahwist, Priestly; see: A.F. CAMPBELL – M. O’BRIEN, *Sources of the Pentateuch. Texts, Introductions, Annotations* (Minneapolis, 1993); A. DE PURY – T. RÖMER, “Le Pentateuque en question. Position du problème et brève histoire de la recherche,” *Le Pentateuque en question. Les origines et la composition des cinq premiers livres de la Bible à la lumière des recherches récentes*. *Le Monde de la Bible* 19 (1989) 9-80; N. LOHFINK, “Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte,” in J. EMERTON, ed., *Studien zum Pentateuch*, Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände. Altes Testament 4 (Stuttgart, 1988) 213-253; J. BLENKINSOPP, “The Structure of P,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 38 (1976) 275-292. However, it also exists the Deuteronomistic source see: M. NOTH, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: I. Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament*, Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft. Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse 18 (Halle, 1943); D.M. CARR, *Writing on the tablet of the heart: origins of scripture and literature* (New York, 2005); K. SCHMIDT, *Genesis and the Moses story: Israel’s dual origins in the Hebrew Bible* (Winona Lake, 2010); K. SCHMIDT, *Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch, Hexateuch, and the Deuteronomistic history* (Tübingen, 2012); D.M. CARR, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: a New Reconstruction* (New York, 2011).

²³⁹ J.L. SKA, *Introduzione alla Scrittura del Pentateuco* (Bologna, 1998) 139.

people.²⁴⁰ In this role of mediation Moses is the Former prophet and his prophetic office is performed in Deuteronomy 18:15-18,²⁴¹ in which Moses is portrayed as the greatest and incomparable prophet. Nobody could be compared to him, as written in Deuteronomy 34:10-12. Moses is the only prophet that speaks with God פה אל־פה “mouth to mouth” or פנים אל־פנים “face to face”.

However, Elijah appears to be equivalent to Moses in some ways because Elijah tries to bring back Israel to YHWH. This appears as a second exodus because the people of Israel are “asleep” in their faith; there is a coexistence of two forms of worship: Baal and YHWH. G. von Rad²⁴² argues that Elijah bursts into the religious reality of Israel and challenges the prophets of Baal by proving that YHWH is God (1 Kgs 18:17-40).

The prophets of Baal die not because of Elijah, but because זבח לאלהים יחרם בלתי ליהוה לבדו “one who sacrifices to gods, except to the Lord, he shall be destroyed” (Exod 22:19). Elijah moves towards the Mountain of Horeb because he is discouraged by the religious situation of Israel, but like Moses, he meets the Lord on Mount Horeb. The Lord passes near to Elijah and he covers his face with his mantle (1 Kgs 19:8-13). Moses and Elijah see the Lord and speak to Him. If Moses is a mediator, Elijah is a איש האלהים “man of God”. This epithet for Elijah has integrity even though scholars have divergent opinions and find it difficult to understand the meaning of the appellation. In his history, Elijah could be considered as a mediator figure even though he has other features than Moses. In the previous pages the איש האלהים “man of God” appears like a person that performs miracles in the name of God, unlike the magicians or the diviners. Elijah performs miracles with his mediation between the people and the Lord. He makes wonders in the interests of the people and not for his personal gain. According to R. Hallevy²⁴³ the איש האלהים “man of God” is a prototype of the prophet because he predicts the future and proclaims the divine will. Moreover, the איש האלהים “man of God” acts as מלאך יהוה “messenger of YHWH”²⁴⁴ that in the Hebrew Bible is synonymous with superior beings or deity. Effectively the איש האלהים “man of God” appears as a superior being for his special powers that are not pertinent for a prophet (*nābī*). However, even though Elijah and Elisha have been compared to איש האלהים “man of God”, they use their gifts differently. Elisha is a symbol

²⁴⁰ Exod 19:9, 10, 14, 17; 24:3; 32:11; Numb 21:7.

²⁴¹ E. BEN ZVI, “Exploring the Memory of Moses ‘The Prophet’ in Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Yehud/Judah,” in D.V. EDELMAN – E. BEN ZVI, ed., *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods Social Memory and Imagination* (Oxford, 2013) 345.

²⁴² G. von RAD, *Teologia delle tradizioni profetiche d’Israele 2* (Brescia, 1974) 34-35.

²⁴³ R. HALLEVY “Man of God,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 17/4 (1958) 239.

²⁴⁴ See: R.A. LOPEZ “Identifying the ‘Angel of the Lord’ in the Book of Judges,” *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 20/1 (2010) 1-18, in which often מלאך יהוה is ontologically identified with a deity. However, the angel speaks in name of YHWH but they are two separate entities. Moreover the expression “messenger of YHWH” defines a precise entity: Gen 16:7; 22:11, 15; Exod 3:2; Judg 2:1; 6:11-12, 22; 13:3, 16, 21; 2 Kgs 1:3, 15; 19:35; 1 Chr 21:12, 18, 30; Ps 33:8; 34:5, 6; Isa 37:36; Hag 1:13; Zech 3:1; 12:8; Mal 2:7.

of filial election, and in his history he is especially a charismatic miracle worker.²⁴⁵ In this context the figure of Elijah is very powerful because he is labelled as a prophet, a *איש האלהים* “man of God” but he is more than a basic prophet or a *איש האלהים* “man of God” because Elijah makes good use of his powers. He was the master of Elisha who received a double portion of his spirit, and no historical prophet was labelled as *איש האלהים* “man of God” except Elijah.

In addition to Moses and Elijah, the figure of David could have interesting characteristics because David, like Moses, is a king,²⁴⁶ a shepherd,²⁴⁷ a prophet,²⁴⁸ a lawgiver,²⁴⁹ a servant of YHWH²⁵⁰ and a *איש האלהים* “man of God”.²⁵¹ All these epithets for David are especially connected with the rules for the cult; in fact, he gives ordinances about the division between priests and Levites and then between the Levites themselves and appoints some as singers (Neh 12:24). J.S. De Vries²⁵² argues that, in the book of Chronicles (1 Chr 28:11, 12, 18), David entrusts his son Solomon to build the Temple of the Lord according to the *תבנית* “pattern”²⁵³ that Moses received from the Lord (Exod 25:9, 40). At the end of the pericope of 1 Chronicles 28:19 David receives a detailed plan from YHWH, meaning that David has a divine revelation that could be equivalent to the revelation on Mount Sinai. David then makes a change in the cult about priests and Levites and also gives instructions on services and works to the Temple (1 Chr 28:13). A.P. Jassen²⁵⁴ notes that the base for the epithet *איש האלהים* “man of God” used for David in Nehemiah and Chronicles, is rooted in its application to Moses. In fact, S. Japhet²⁵⁵ argues that the actions of David are the end of a process that began with Moses. This means that David had a special relationship with the Lord and that David observes the ordinances of Moses because he recognizes the Mosaic authority. However, there could be a connection between Moses, Elijah and David because the last two are connected with Moses,

²⁴⁵ J. BLENKINSOPP, *A History of Prophecy in Israel: from the Settlement in Land to the Hellenistic Period* (London, 1984) 86.

²⁴⁶ 2 Sam 5:3; 6:12, 16; 7:18; 8:8, 10-11; 9:5; 13:21, 39; 16:5; 17:17, 21; 19:12, 17; 20:21; 1 Kgs 1:1, 13, 28, 32, 38, 43; 1 Chr 28:4.

²⁴⁷ 1 Sam 7:15.

²⁴⁸ According to A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 112, n. 68; David is never directly labelled as a prophet (*nābī*) but indirectly (2 Chr 29:25) he is considered a prophet because he receives the word of God mediated by his prophets or seers, or directly from God (1 Chr 22:8; 28:4-7, 19).

²⁴⁹ Neh 12:24, 45; 2 Chr 8:14; 29:25; 35:15. In these quotations the ordinances of David (*דויד מצות*) must be understood as new rules of worship.

²⁵⁰ 2 Sam 3:18; 7:5, 8; 1 Kgs 11:13, 32, 34, 36, 38; 14:8; 2 Kgs 8:19; 19:34; 20:6.

²⁵¹ Neh 12:24, 36; 2 Chr 8:14.

²⁵² S.J. De VRIES, “Moses and David as Cult Founders in Chronicles,” *Journal biblical Literature* 107/4 (1988) 626.

²⁵³ According to N.M. SARNA, *Exodus שמות. The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation Commentary* (Philadelphia, 1991) 159; the word *תבנית* “pattern” is usually referred to a pre-existing model. This word is used also in Exod 25:9, 40, Deut 4:16-18; Josh 22:28; 2 Kgs 16:10; Isa 44:13; Ezek 8:3, 10; 10:8; Pss 106:20; 144:12; and it is used to indicate an archetypal model.

²⁵⁴ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 112, n. 68.

²⁵⁵ S. JAPHET, *I & II Chronicles. A Commentary*, Old Testament Library (London, 1993) 626.

and some scholars define David as a “new Moses”.²⁵⁶ Also, David presents some features that relate him to Moses and Elijah even though they have different attributes.

David, like Moses and Elijah, is labelled as איש האלהים “man of God” (Neh 12:24, 36; 2 Chr 8:14). This epithet has a different meaning when used for David than for Moses and Elijah: while for Moses it marks his relationship with God, and for Elijah the epithet is used to indicate a man that accomplishes benefits and wonders, instead for David it is only an honorific title. However, like Moses and Elijah, David is a spokesman of God because the Spirit of God speaks through him (2 Sam 23:2). Even though the term *nābî* is not used for David, he acts as a prophet because he receives the word directly from God (1 Chr 22:8; 28:4-7, 19). Moreover, David is a איש כלבבו “man after His own heart” (1 Sam 13:14); he is a mighty warrior (1 Sam 16-2 Sam 10), and YHWH made an indeterminate covenant with him and his descendants to rule Israel (1 Kgs 2:1-4; 8:25; 9:3-9; 1 Chr 28:7; 2 Chr 6:16; Ps 132:12). Moreover, even though the Davidic throne will fail (Ps 89:38-51), it will rise up; David is anointed king of Judah (2 Sam 2:4, 6, 11) and then of Israel (2 Sam 5:1-5).

D.V. Edelman²⁵⁷ notes that David prays to YHWH to achieve the rescue of the nation (1 Chr 16:35) as a prophetic insight for the Babylonian exile. Furthermore, in his last words David declares: רוח יהוה דבר בי ומלתו על לשוני “The spirit of the Lord spoke to me and His word was on my tongue” (2 Sam 23:2). This means that David received the Spirit of God from the day of his anointing and surely it rested upon him for all of his life, because the activity of David was unique. David is a special man with many gifts and he could be placed in parallel with Moses and Elijah as a messianic figure but not as an eschatological prophet, because in the Hebrew Bible he is especially emphasized as a lawgiver, for his psalmic activity, and as the king of the 12 tribes of Israel and the founder of a royal dynasty.

4.3. Moses and Elijah in the texts of Qumran

In the previous chapter Moses and Elijah have been examined in the writings of Qumran. The *Yahad* interprets them like a new revelation re-actualizing itself at the time that the community is experiencing.²⁵⁸ In this perspective Moses and Elijah are emphasized as prophetic figures becoming an active part of the revelation. Therefore, the Torah that was given to Moses on Mount Sinai is fully revealed, but not fully understood by Israelite people. Prophets also receive the revelation “from time

²⁵⁶ G.W. COATS, *Moses: heroic man, man of God* (Sheffield, 1988) 199.

²⁵⁷ D.V. EDELMAN, “David in Israelite Social Memory,” in D.V. EDELMAN - E. BEN ZVI eds., *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination* (Oxford, 2013) 156.

²⁵⁸ The examined texts are sectarian and non-sectarian. The first texts are: 1QS; 1QSa; CD; 4Q174; 4Q175; 11QMelchizedek; Peshar Habakkuk. The second texts are: 4Q521; 4Q558; 4Q375; 4Q377.

to time” and the revelation was not fully understood by them, either.

In the Qumran texts, Moses is also a multivalent figure because, on the one hand, he appears like a prophetic model, while on the other hand he has eschatological features that could be performed by a person with the same characteristics as Moses or like a “new Moses”.

Likewise, Elijah is an equivalent figure to Moses because he is complementary to Moses, and in the Qumran texts a “new Elijah” is expected.

It is reasonable to ask why the *Yahad* emphasizes these two figures rather than others. G.J. Brooke²⁵⁹ notes that in the Qumran texts, in sectarian and non-sectarian documents, as well as biblical and non-biblical documents, a reference to Moses as a lawgiver or a mediator of the Law is emphasized. Moreover in sectarian compositions it is often possible to find the expression: תורה משה “the Law of Moses” ספר משה “the book of Moses” and also “by the hand of Moses”²⁶⁰. As affirmed by G. Vermes,²⁶¹ in the *Damascus Document* and in the *Rule of the Community* the Torah of Moses is the pivot of community life. G.J. Brooke²⁶² also notes that, in addition to all the passages in which Moses is named, there are further texts that revolve around him. A striking proof is 4QTestimonia 1:1-20 that is composed of quotations of the Hebrew Bible in the Samaritan Pentateuch version. We could interpret this set of biblical quotations about Moses (Deut 5:28-29; 18:18-19) with an eschatological meaning, indicating Moses as the expected prophet. Moreover as J.B. Shaver²⁶³ notes, the *Yahad* in 4Q558 mentions Elijah and his return, while in 4Q521 the *Yahad* gives a full description of the expected Elijah even though he is not directly named. However, scholars agree that the Moses and Elijah expected in the Qumran texts will be “new Moses” and “new Elijah”²⁶⁴ or rather a new individual like Moses and/or Elijah. This implies that a figure is expected that should have the same biblical features as Moses and/or Elijah, as written in Deuteronomy 18:15. Here the prophet “like Moses” does not constitute a return of Moses himself, but the text stresses his prophetic ministry, his role of mediator and that he is to be the mouthpiece of YHWH. Equally stressed are Elijah and his return יהוה הגדול והנורא “before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord” (Mal 3:23). In both cases they function as mediators between God and the people, and Elijah is the agent of the final return to God.

²⁵⁹ G.J. BROOKE, “Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking at Mount Nebo from Qumran,” in T. RÖMER, ed., *The Construction of the Figure of Moses*, Transeuphratène. Supplément 13 (Paris, 2007) 210-211.

²⁶⁰ See e.g.: CD 5:12; 8:14; 15:9; 16:5; IQS 1:3; 5:8; 8:15, 22; IQM 10:6; 1QH^a4:12; 2Q25 1:3; 4Q249 1.

²⁶¹ G. VERMES, “The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in its Historical Setting,” *Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society* 6 (1969) 87.

²⁶² G.J. BROOKE, “Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking at Mount Nebo from Qumran,” in T. RÖMER, ed., *The Construction of the Figure of Moses*, Transeuphratène. Supplément 13 (Paris, 2007) 212.

²⁶³ J.B. SHAVER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of Second Temple Period* (Chicago, 2001) 184.

²⁶⁴ In both cases as in the previous chapter the adjective “new” is not synonymous of “Redivivus” because the expected Prophet will be a figure with the same features of Moses and/or Elijah, but he will be neither Moses nor Elijah.

4.3.1. Moses as a prophetic eschatological figure in the Qumran texts

G.G. Xeravits²⁶⁵ notes that the figure of Moses in the so-called Library of Qumran has been exalted; he seems to be an “a-temporal” figure because he appears as an “angelified human being” and also an eschatological individual. Revisiting the ancient personage of Moses in Qumran, G.G. Xeravits asserts that he is an authoritative individual because:

- The Torah belongs to Moses: 1QS 5:8; CD 15:2, 9, 12; 16:2, 5.
- Moses is a mediator because God communicates through him: 1QS 1:3; 8:15, 22; 1QM 10:6; 1QH 17:12; 1Q22 2:5, 11; CD 5:21; 15:9.
- Moses appears in parallel with other prophets: 1QS 1:3; CD 5:21-6:1; 1QM 11:7-8.

However, G.G. Xeravits²⁶⁶ argues that the members of the *Yahad* thought that in order to transmit the divine word it was necessary to be a prophet, but when Moses is put in parallel with other prophets, he seems to be preeminent, because the Lord speaks with him פה אל־פה “mouth to mouth” (Numb 12:6-8). Analysing the pericopes in which Moses has prophetic, messianic and eschatological features, it is possible to outline his various profiles.

As above, 4Q*Testimonia* or 4Q175 as defined by F. García Martínez is “an anthology of messianic texts”²⁶⁷ that together express the expectation of a prophet and two Messiahs. However, there are only three quotations that we interpret as eschatological relating to Moses. 4Q*Testimonia* 1:1-4 mentions a quotation from Deuteronomy in which Moses acts as a mediator between the people of Israel and God, in which God claims that the people are unfaithful. Nevertheless, in 4Q175 1:5-8 God announces that he will send a prophet “like you”. Even though in this quotation Moses is unnamed, he is present at the beginning of the pericope. Therefore, this future prophet is an eschatological individual that utters in name of God. According to G.G. Xeravits²⁶⁸ this prophet is not identified with Moses, but Moses is taken like a model.

Another important fragment for our case is the *Apocryphon of Moses* or 4Q377 2 ii 1-12 which describes the congregation and Moses on Mount Sinai. God speaks directly with the people of Israel, but the people are not able to hear him and ask Moses to intermeditate for them. However, the central point of this fragment is specifically the relationship between Moses and God and not the meeting on Mount Sinai. In 4Q377 2 ii 6-7 the Lord speaks with (עַם) the congregation of Israel. This unusual

²⁶⁵ G.G. XERAVITS, “Moses Redivivus in Qumran?” *The Qumran Chronicle* 11 (2003) 92-93.

²⁶⁶ G.G. XERAVITS, “Considerations on canon and Dead Sea Scrolls,” *The Qumran Chronicle* 9/2-4 (2000) 171-173.

²⁶⁷ F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ – G. TREBOLLE BARRERA, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden, 1995) 114.

²⁶⁸ G.G. XERAVITS, “Moses Redivivus in Qumran?” *The Qumran Chronicle* 11 (2003) 94-95.

statement underscores that on Mount Sinai both the people and Moses were *with* God and not *toward* God. The entire congregation is called to answer to God, but they were absent because they were afraid, while Moses was in the cloud *with* God. The experience of Moses is shared with the whole congregation that remains in intimacy *with* God. In this fragment Moses is labelled with several epithets such as: “anointed one” (משיח) (l. 5), “man of God” (איש האלהים) (l. 10), “angel/messenger” (מלאך), “herald” (מבשר) (l. 11) and “pious man” (איש חסדים) (l. 12). According to some scholars,²⁶⁹ in the Hebrew Bible Moses is never labelled “anointed one” (משיח). J.C. Vanderkam and M.C. Brady²⁷⁰ note that putting this text in parallel with CD 6:1 the epithet assigned to Moses emphasizes his roles as mediator of the Torah. Therefore, the epithet “anointed one” (משיח) stresses the analogy with the prophetic category. Moses is labelled “man of God” (איש האלהים) an expression that is used in the Hebrew Bible which points not only to a prophetic role but also to a man with special powers. From this perspective, the epithet marks the relationship between Moses and God because both are in the cloud on the mountain. In 4Q377 2 ii 11 Moses has two appellations: “angel/messenger” (מלאך) and “herald” (מבשר). In relation to the first word, G.G. Xeravits²⁷¹ notes that in the text Moses is not directly called angel/messenger but the mouth of God sanctifies him as in the case of an angel. Therefore, in this framework the term מלאך assumes only the meaning of “messenger”. However, H. Najman²⁷² asserts that Moses plays the role of an angel because he is the “mouth of God” receiving the revelation from God Himself. In my opinion it is not by chance that the epithets “angel/messenger” (מלאך) and “herald” (מבשר) are put in the same line because they recall 11QMelchizedek, but this will be examined later. Finally, the last epithet “pious man” (איש חסד) inserted in line 12, stresses the uniqueness of Moses, because for the author of the text each word denotes a specific characteristic. In this context, Moses is pious in the sense that he is a man of mercy, with pity towards God and towards the people. These are feelings that surpass the humanity of Moses. In fragment 2 of 4Q377, all these epithets concerning Moses are tied to the historical Moses because this writing is not eschatological. However, Moses appears like the perfect expected prophet because he has all the attributes that the situation requires. He is labelled as a איש האלהים “man of God”, he is sanctified, he is a pious man and he is compared to a herald of good tidings.

²⁶⁹ See: M.C. BRADY – J.C. VANDERKAM, “4QApocryphal Pentateuch A,” in D.M. GROPP – J. VANDERKAM – M. BRADY, eds., *Wadi Daliyeh II. The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh and Qumran Cave - XXVIII. Miscellanea, Part 2, Discoveries in the Judean Desert 28* (Oxford, 2001) 215; J.E. BOWLEY, “Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran,” in P.W. FLINT – J.C. VANDERKAM, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment. Volume Two* (Leiden, 1999) 175.

²⁷⁰ M.C. BRADY – J.C. VANDERKAM, “4QApocryphal Pentateuch A,” in D.M. GROPP – J. VANDERKAM – M. BRADY, eds., *Wadi Daliyeh II. The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh and Qumran Cave - XXVIII. Miscellanea, Part 2, Discoveries in the Judean Desert 28* (Oxford, 2001) 215.

²⁷¹ G.G. XERAVITS, “Moses Redivivus in Qumran?” *The Qumran Chronicle* 11 (2003) 98.

²⁷² H. NAJMAN, “Angels at Sinai: Exegesis, Theology and Interpretative Authority,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7/3 (2000) 319.

As in Deuteronomy 18:15 the prophet expected in the Qumran texts will be a “new Moses”, not meaning that there will be another Moses, but a prophet with the features of Moses.

Finally, *Apocryphon Joshua* or 4Q378 26 1-3 is a text similar to 4Q377, but it is a much smaller fragment than 4Q377 and Moses is named איש האלהים “man of God” and his roles seem prophetic because he ויודע דעת עליון “knows the knowledge of the Most High” and he mediates this knowledge to all of the community of Israel. 4Q378 contains prayers (frgs. 1, 2, 6 ii 4b-8, 7, 13 i 1-4, 19 ii, 22 i), discourses (frgs. 3 i-ii, 6 i, 6 ii 1-4a, 11, 12, 13 i 5-8, 14 4-5, 26) and a narrative (frg. 14 1-4) in which the topic is the mourning for Moses and the assumption of Joshua as a leader of Israel.²⁷³

The studied fragments of 4Q175, 4Q377 and 4Q378 present some compatibility because even though they are not eschatological, they invoke the prophetic and eschatological features of Moses. The starting point is Deuteronomy 18:15, in which a “prophet like Moses” is expected. In 4Q175 God announces the sending of this prophet, while in 4Q377 and 4Q378 the relationship between Moses and God is especially emphasized. In the name of this relationship, God will send a prophet “like Moses” that in 4Q377 appears like an angelified figure, a man of God, and a herald, while in 4Q378 he is a man of God that ויודע דעת עליון “knows the knowledge of the Most High”. Moses in these fragments is a famous mediator between God and the people, and his deeds are exalted. All these different appellations show us that Moses is a multivalent figure because he has a wide range of qualities.

Concerning the eschatological feature of Moses, scholars²⁷⁴ attribute to him the משה הרוח “anointed of the spirit” of 11Q*Melchisedek*. This latter fragment in 2:15-21 is a *peshet* on Isaiah 52:7 through the interpretation of Isaiah 61:1. In Isaiah 52:7 the herald identified as the משה הרוח “anointed of the spirit” is joined with the prophetic מבשר טוב “messenger of good” of Isaiah 61:1. Therefore the משה הרוח appears prophetic and messianic, showing several affinities with the “new Moses”. He is a messenger or a prophet with an eschatological task because משמיע ישועה he announces salvation, אמור says, לנחם האבלים comforts the mourning, and להשכילמה instructs. He has the features of a “new Moses” as emphasized in 4Q377 2 ii 5, even though, as opined by A.P. Jassen,²⁷⁵ in 4Q377 2 ii 5 the expression is isolated,²⁷⁶ in the sense that it is not complete and could be interpreted as “anointed with

²⁷³ A. FELDMAN, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran. Texts, Translation, and Commentary*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 438 (Berlin/Boston, 2014) 25.

²⁷⁴ See e.g. M. De JONGE – A. S. van der WOUDE, “11QMelchizedek and the New Testament,” *New Testament Studies* 12 (Cambridge, 1996) 301-326; G.G. XERAVITS, “Moses Redivivus in Qumran?” *The Qumran Chronicle* 11 (2003) 104; A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 179-181, n. 68.

²⁷⁵ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 96, n. 68.

²⁷⁶ See also 1QM 11:7-8; 4Q377 2 ii 5; 4Q521 2 ii 4 1; 4Q521 8-9; 9:3.

the (holy) spirit”. In the Qumran texts, contrary to the Hebrew Bible, the epithet משיח “anointed one”²⁷⁷ is sometimes used to label a prophet that is conceived as anointed by the Holy Spirit. In our case Moses משיח “anointed one” assumes a prophetic and eschatological role. However, this eschatological figure is also tied to the expected “prophet” of 1QS 9:11 and the “prophet like Moses” of 4Q*Testimonia*. As in the previous chapter, in 1QS 9:11 a prophet and two Messiahs are expected; in our case it is important to understand the features of this expected prophet. According to A.P. Jassen, line 9 is inserted into a literary unit that rules sectarian behaviour.

However, these rules will be valid עד בוא נביא ומשיחי אהרון וישראל “until the coming of a prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel”. This means that the prophet and the Messiahs are expected in an eschatological time. The role of the prophet is not explained but he will come before or simultaneously with the Messiahs. Therefore, the prophet is an eschatological figure with the task of preparing for the eschaton. He could be a “new Moses” because placing 1QS, 4Q175 and 11Q*Melchizedek* in parallel, the expected prophet seems to be the common point.

4.3.2. Elijah as a prophetic eschatological figure in the Qumran texts

Elijah’s name appears only in 4Q558 or 4Q*pap Vision*^b while in 4Q521 or *Messianic Apocalypse* there is only an allusion to Elijah, as the text quotes Malachi 3:23-24.

In fragment 4Q558 51 ii 4 there is a mention of Malachi 3:23 in which Elijah will be sent before the Day of the Lord. Therefore, the context of the fragment seems to be eschatological and apocalyptic. The apocalyptic context is a reference to line 5: cosmic events with power, lightning and meteors²⁷⁸ are announced as in Malachi 3:2. Instead 4Q521 2 iii 2-6 is a paraphrase of Malachi 3:22-24: even though Elijah is not directly named, he is portrayed.

However, to better understand this fragment it is necessary to read it in parallel with 4Q521 2 ii 1-15. Analysing 4Q521 2 ii:

¹[כי הש]מים והארץ ישמעו למשיחו
²[וכל א]שר בם לוא יסוג ממצות קדושים
³התאמצו מבקשי אדני בעבדתו
⁴הלוא בזאת תמצאו את אדני כל המיחלים בלבם
⁵כי אדני חסידים יבקר וצדיקים בשם יקרא
⁶ועל ענוים רוחו תרחף ואמונים יהליף בכחו

²⁷⁷ CD 2:12; 6:1; 12:23; 14:19; 19:10; 20:1; 1QS 9:11; 1QSa 2:12, 14, 20; 1QM 11:7; 1Q30 1 2; 4Q174 2i 19; 4Q249^f 1 3:1, 3:4; 4Q249^g 3 7:12, 7:15; 4Q249^h 1 2:7; 4Q249i 1:1, 1:5; 4Q252 5:3; 4Q266 2 ii 12; 4Q266 3 ii 9; 4Q266 10 i 12; 4Q267 2:6; 4Q269 4 i 2; 4Q269 11 i 2; 4Q270 2 ii 14; 4Q287 10:13; 4Q375 1 i 9; 4Q376 1 i 1; 4Q377 2 ii 5; 4Q381 15:7; 4Q382 16:2; 4Q458 2 ii 6; 4Q521 2 ii 4:1; 4Q521 8:9, 9:3; 4Q547 9:7; 6Q15 3:4; 11Q13 2:18.

²⁷⁸ Some scholars interpret חרפא with חז. See É. PUECH, *La Croyance des Esséniens en la Vie Future: Immortalité, Résurrection, Vie Éternelle?* (Paris, 1993) 676; J. ZIMMERMANN, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran. Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (Tübingen, 1998) 413.

7כי יכבד את חסידים על כסא מלכות עד
 8מתיר אסורים פוקח עורים זוקף כפ[ופים]
 9ול[ע]לם אדבק [במ]יחלים ובחסדו י []
 10ופר[י מעש]ה טוב לאיש לוא יתאחר
 11ונכבדות שלוא היו יעשה אדני כאשר ד[בר]
 12כי ירפא חללים ומתים יחיה ענוים יבשר
 13י[דלי]ם ישב[יע] [נתושים ינהל ורעבים יעשר
 14ונב[ונים] [וכלם כקד[ושים]
 15וא] []

¹Because heaven and earth will listen to his Messiah(s) ²and all that in them do not abandon the holy precepts. ³Be resolute, you who are seeking the Lord in his service. ⁴Will you not in this encounter the Lord, all those who hope in their hearts? ⁵For the Lord shall take care of the pious and call the righteous by name ⁶and he will hover his spirit upon the oppressed and he will be renewed the faithful with his strength. ⁷For he will honour the pious upon the throne of an eternal kingdom ⁸he will release the prisoners, he will give sight to the blind and straighten the bend. ⁹Forever I will cleave to those who wait and are pious. ¹⁰The fruits of good deeds not be delayed for anyone. ¹¹And the Lord will perform marvellous acts such as have not existed, just as he sa[id]¹²for he will heal the wounded and the dead will be raised and good news will be preached to the oppressed ¹³he will satisfy the weak, will lead the uprooted and shall make the hungry rich, ¹⁴they understand ... everything as holy.¹⁵

In line 1 the suffix of the anointed one(s) (משיחו) might be read as singular or plural even though J.B. Shaver²⁷⁹ asserts that in the singular form it seems to be connected with lines 3, 6 and 9 expressing a relationship between God and His anointed. Moreover, in 4Q521 2 ii 1-2 although both are in plural form, the terms קדושים “holy ones” and משיחו “anointed ones” appear synonymous. This indicates that these two expressions should be referred to different agents and are transmitted through the divine command. J.B. Shaver²⁸⁰ argues that the term קדושים “holy ones” often refers to an angelic figure, but in these two lines the allusion to heaven and earth reminds us of Elijah who in the Biblical history commands rain and fire from the heavens and achieves miracles. In line 2 there is an exhortation to observe the precepts because God has care of the pious and the righteous,²⁸¹ He will reward those who seek Him (lines 5-6) and His spirit will rest upon them. In lines 7-8, 12 wonders are announced, captives will be released, the blind will see, and the dead will live again.

In this fragment of 4Q521 the speaker is the Lord who will accomplish all these wonders, even though in the Hebrew Bible, the Lord usually entrusts the achieving of miracles to a holder of prophetic office or a herald, as in Isaiah 61:1-2:

1רוח אדני יהוה עלי יען משח יהוה אתי לבשר ענוים שלחני לחבש לנשבר־לב לקרא לשבויים דרור ולאסורים פקח־קוח

²⁷⁹ J.B. SHAVER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of Second Temple Period* (Chicago, 2001) 172, 174.

²⁸⁰ See J.J. COLLINS, *Daniel* (Minneapolis, 1993) 313-317; C.A. NEWSOM, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (Atlanta, 1985) 24-25; J. ZIMMERMANN, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran. Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (Tübingen, 1998) 349-350. There is an exception in Ps 34:10 in which the “holy ones” alludes to the community of the faithful. However, in the Qumran texts there is not an undisputed case in which the expression could refer to human beings.

²⁸¹ In this point there is a reference to Ezek 34:11-16 in which the Lord is a Shepherd who cares for all his sheep. In fact, He sustains the weak, the injured, but also the fat and the healthy.

¹The spirit of the Lord my God is upon me, because the Lord has anointed me; He has sent me to bring good tidings to the humble, He has sent me to bind the broken hearted; to proclaim liberty to the captives and release the prisoners ²to proclaim the year of grace of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God, to comfort all those who are in mourning.

In our case it is possible to identify the משיח “anointed one” of Isaiah with the messiah(s) of 4Q521 2 ii 1. But the true parallel is with 11Q13 2:15-21, in which a messenger is present, and he is the anointed of the spirit and he will utter wonders. However, both in Isaiah 61 and 11Q13 it is said that somebody will rise from the dead. It seems unique to 4Q521 2 ii 12 that God is the only one who rises from the dead. However, A.P. Jassen²⁸² argues that at the end of days the eschatological prophet will execute the tasks announced by God in 4Q521 2 ii. The connection between the eschatological prophet of 4Q521 2 ii and Elijah in the tradition of Malachi allows us to better understand 4Q521 2 iii. In the fragment 4Q521 line 1 the subject could be God, and according to É. Puech²⁸³ the speaker is the author of the writing and he seems to have visions or dreams; therefore, he could be the eschatological one of fragment 2 ii labelled a “new Moses” or a “new Elijah”. However, as the expected messiah(s) in fragment 2 ii 1 is/are designated by a third person and in 2 iii 1-2 by Elijah because there is an indubitable reference to Malachi 3:24, it is certain that the messiah and Elijah cannot be the same person.

4.3.3. The eschatological patterns of Moses and Elijah: competitive or complementary?

After the analysis of Moses and Elijah as prophetic and eschatological figures in the Qumran texts, the next question is whether Moses and Elijah offer two eschatological patterns in competitive or in complementary ways, as we can postulate that only one pattern of eschatological prophet is necessary. What does the existence of two patterns mean? Does it correspond to two different traditions or the same one? Does it correspond to two different redactional milieus?

First, it is important to better investigate fragment 4Q378 26:1-7:

¹ [ויוד]ע[דעת עליון ומ]]
² [ה]ה[ג]יד לנו איש האלהים מפי]
³ [ועדת עליון הק]ש[יבו לקול מ]ושה
⁴ [מיו וב] [אלהים עליון]
⁵ [מפתים גדולים ובחמה יעצר]

²⁸² A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 147-148, n. 68.

²⁸³ É. PUECH, “Une Apocalypse Messianique (4Q521),” *Revue de Qumrân* 15/4 (1992) 497.

¹]and kno[ws] the knowledge of the Most High and *m* [²] *h* announced us the man of God from the mouth ³] and the congregation of the Most High heard the voice of M[oses ⁴] his *m*[
b [] God Most Hig[h ⁵] great portents and restrained his wrath[⁶] *yš* [pi]ous man and remember its ages [⁷] *t* unto *lm*[

This fragment has some thematic parallels with 4Q377 2 ii because both fragments relate something about the Sinaitic revelation. Line 1 recalls the oracle of Balaam (Numb 24:16) even though in this context Moses is portrayed with reference to Numbers 12:8 in which God affirms that he speaks פה אל־פה “mouth to mouth” with Moses. Moreover lines 2-3 are parallel to 4Q377 2 ii 10-11 as this describes the revelation. However, in line 2 the role of Moses is to give the people the Torah, while in line 3, according to A. Feldman²⁸⁴ the congregation hears directly the voice of the Most High. Line 5 seems to recall both the signs and wonders that God operated in the exodus and Moses who in biblical narrative tried to calm divine wrath (Numb 17:13).

The manuscript 4Q378 is fragmentary and the covenant between God and the patriarchs is mentioned three times (11 3; 14 4; 22i 4). It appears to be proof of continuity between the patriarchs and Moses. Thus, Moses has the דעת עליון “knowledge of the Most High”, he is able to calm the divine wrath, and he is named איש החסדים “one of the pious ones” as in 4Q377 2 ii 12.

Focusing on resonances between Moses and Elijah, there are similarities between the examined scrolls. In 4Q521 2 iii obedience to the Torah is emphasized because, for those who respect it, God will accomplish benefits and He will manifest His glory. Nobody will be excluded at this time because all the earth will rejoice as in 4Q521 2 iii 4. How will this be possible? In 4Q558 51 2:4, אשלה לאליה קדם “Elijah will be sent before ...”, while in 4Q521 2 iii 2 there is a clear reference to Malachi 3:24 in which Elijah will return to “turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to the fathers” לב־אבות על־בנים על־אבותם והשיב. Analogously, in 4Q521 2 ii 12 a third person is expected who כי ירפא חללים ימתים יחיה ענוים יבשר “will heal the wounded and the dead will be raised and good news will be preached to the oppressed”. These three fragments have an eschatological context because the common point is an anointed eschatological prophet. Moreover, in these three texts the eschatological manifestation is also recounted but in 4Q521 2 ii it is only for those who benefit from the covenant with God because they obey the Torah.

²⁸⁴ A. FELDMAN, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran. Texts, Translation, and Commentary*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 438 (Berlin/Boston, 2014) 63, opines that in light of Deuteronomy 4:36 (מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשְּׁמִיעַךְ אֶת־קוֹלִי): the community in line 3 hears directly God and not Moses as in line 2 in which Moses reports to the people the word of God as in the experience on the Sinai. Therefore line 3 marks a new way of divine communication with Israel.

In effect, J. Zimmerman²⁸⁵ notes that not כל־ישראל “all Israel” benefits from this covenant, but only those that are elected by God: thus in 4Q521 2 iii 5 it is written that “all Israel” will enter into the eschatological inauguration of the kingdom; כל־ישראל “all Israel” meaning all people that observe the Torah. It is necessary to note that 4Q521 2 ii has common points with 11Q13 2:15-21, even though it is particularly tied to the messianic time that in Malachi seems to be concomitant or succeeding the arrival of Elijah. In 4Q521 2 ii the author directly identifies God as accomplishing wonders while in 11Q13 an anointed herald with the Holy Spirit will achieve these prodigies. Nevertheless, if in 4Q521 2 ii God will use an agent for all these miracles, it is possible that the agent could be Elijah, especially at the time of resurrection because in his past career Elijah raised the dead. The resurrection of the dead is a difference with 11Q13, in which it is not mentioned. Also, Moses is connected with 11Q13 because as above, he is mentioned as an eschatological figure, an anointed one, a messenger and a herald. The eschatological role of Moses could be to prepare the *Yahad* for the messianic era because he has the task of making them obey the Torah to allow the congregation to hear God.

In the Qumran texts, Moses has the task of mediating between God and the people. He is first of all a prophet, a mediator and a lawgiver. His relationship with God is emphasized. He is labelled איש האלהים “man of God”, with a different meaning than the biblical one because in the biblical sense איש האלהים “man of God” is one who accomplishes wonders. Moses is also named pious man for his obedience to God. All these appellations could suggest that Moses is the anointed of 11QM *Melchizedek*, and that he could be in competition with Elijah. Thus, Elijah in his career accomplished wonders and raised the dead. However, in these tasks Moses and Elijah are not in competition but complementary, because both have a prophetic role, but Moses is the prophet *par excellence* while Elijah has an eschatological feature. However, according to J.J. Collins,²⁸⁶ arguing in contradiction to this last point, in the Qumran texts Elijah was expected as an eschatological prophet, even though it is not attested, because in 4Q521 2 ii 1 a Messiah is expected whom heaven and earth will obey, and this expected anointed one could be Elijah who in the Biblical history is the only figure that heaven and earth obeyed. J.J. Collins²⁸⁷ also asserts that the figure of Elijah can be identified in 4Q521 2 iii 2 because there is a quotation of Malachi 3:24. Therefore Elijah may be the expected eschatological prophet. J. Starcky²⁸⁸ asserts that this idea was present in the Jewish tradition, dating fragment 4Q558 to 50-25 B.C.E. He also opines that 4Q558 51 ii 4 is an allusion to Malachi 3:23 because אליה הנביא

²⁸⁵ J. ZIMMERMANN, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran. Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (Tübingen, 1998) 354-355.

²⁸⁶ J.J. COLLINS, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (Grand Rapids, 1995) 130.

²⁸⁷ J.J. COLLINS, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (Grand Rapids, 1995) 135.

²⁸⁸ J. STARCKY, “558. 4Qpap Vision^b ar,” in É. PUECH, ed., *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXVII. Discoveries in the Judean Desert 37* (Oxford, 2009) 180.

לפני בוא “Elijah will be sent before...” and after his arrival (line 5), a potent meteoric light is expected, as in Malachi 3:2 in which an apocalyptic scene of the coming of the messenger before the Day of the Lord is described.

However, in the Hebrew Bible the only proof that Elijah is expected before the coming of the messiah is in Malachi 3:1: “Behold, I send My messenger and he will prepare the way before Me...” that seems to find its accomplishment in Malachi 3:23: “הנה אנכי שלח לכם את אליה” “Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord”. In these verses, Elijah is attested as an eschatological prophet that will prepare the way for the coming of the Lord, but he cannot be the forerunner of the messiah(s), because in 4Q558 the word “before” just after the name of Elijah and without any words following invalidates the hypothesis.

B. Glazier-McDonald²⁸⁹ asserts that in the book of Malachi the messenger (Mal 3:1) and Elijah (Mal 3:23) are the same figure with the same role because the messenger has the task of revitalizing worship and the priesthood (Mal 3:3-12), while the mission of Elijah is to restore the cult of the community and report it to YHWH (Mal 3:24). In the Qumran texts, according to A.P. Jassen,²⁹⁰ the relationship between Elijah in the tradition of Malachi and the eschatological prophet of 4Q521 2 ii enlightens fragment 2 iii. To better understand this assertion, it is necessary to read J. Poirier and his affirmation about the forerunner of 11Q*Melchizedek* 2:18. This forerunner is the anointed of the Spirit: for J. Poirier²⁹¹ this is the expected prophet of 1QS 9:11 because, he asserts, there is a contrast between anointing with oil and anointing with the Spirit. Anointing with oil is usually applicable to priests, as in 4Q375 1 i 9, while anointing with the Spirit could be linked to the eschatological prophet. The description in 4Q521 2 ii 12-13 of the wonders accomplished by the eschatological prophet recalls the figure of Elijah who is the only figure in the Hebrew Bible to perform miracles. J.J. Collins²⁹² opines that in 4Q521 2 ii 12, as in Isaiah 61:1, God acts through a prophetic agency that could be exercised by Elijah as eschatological prophet or the anointed one.

Biblical history marks the divergences between Moses and Elijah while in the Qumran texts they are often supposed to be the expected prophet of 1QS 9:11: “עד בוא נביא ומשיחי אהרון וישראל: “until the prophet comes, and the Messiah of Aaron and Israel”, in which a prophet and two messiahs are expected. The prophet seems to be an eschatological figure and is defined with the word “*nābī*”, while the messiahs are named משיחי “anointed ones”. This different denomination gives rise to a number of

²⁸⁹ B. GLAZIER–Mc DONALD, *Malachi. The Divine Messenger* (Atlanta, 1987) 263.

²⁹⁰ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 147, n. 68.

²⁹¹ J.C. POIRIER, “The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10/2 (2003) 226-227.

²⁹² J.J. COLLINS, “Works of the Messiah,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1/1 (1994) 100.

different opinions among scholars,²⁹³ because in the biblical texts the root משיח is rarely used to define a prophet.²⁹⁴ It implies that the prophet and the two messiahs have different roles and terminology. G.G. Xeravits²⁹⁵ argues that the epithet משיח “anointed one” could be a strengthening of the prophetic role. Therefore, in 4Q521 2 ii 1 the named messiah(s), like the anointed ones, could be either Moses or Elijah, because Moses commands the people to obey the Torah, while Elijah is one whom heaven and earth will hear.

In the Qumran texts Moses and Elijah are two prophetic eschatological figures that can be defined as messianic²⁹⁶ in the sense that they play an active part in the salvation of the people but in my opinion they are not the expected Messiah of Israel and Aaron. Moses and Elijah are part of a long process in which Moses is the first model and then Elijah is the “new Moses”. The prophetic task of Moses is emphasized, while Elijah is a new model of mediation because he will prepare the *Yahad* for the eschatological time. J.J. Collins²⁹⁷ considers that, in Qumran, messianic dualism is an eschatological pattern, because the messiahs are two eschatological figures. Thus, the eschatological time is not the end of the historical process, but only the end of a time.

In relation to this point, D. Dimant²⁹⁸ argues that in the writings of Qumran the expression קצוי אל “Periods of God”²⁹⁹ is usually present. She explains that the history is formed from a sequence of periods that can be tied to the expression “from time to time” concerning the transmission of the Torah. However, in this context J.J. Collins³⁰⁰ is able to demonstrate that the organization of the *Yahad* anticipates messianic times, because according to CD 13 and 1QS 6 the *Yahad* is formed by small groups of ten men in which a priest and an inspector or overseer are present. This is the same structure as will be realized in the last days according to the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa 2:11-

²⁹³ See, F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ – G. TREBOLLE BARRERA, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden, 1995) 186, affirms that the prophet “must be considered as a true messianic figure,” instead A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 85-86, 164, n. 68, asserts that often in the corpus of Qumran the term “anointed ones” is used as a prophetic title: 1Q30 1 2; CD 2:12; 6:1; 1QM 11: 7-8; 4Q270 2ii 14; 4Q287 10:13; 4Q377 2ii 5; 4Q521 2ii 4 1; 8 9; 9 3; 11Q13 2:18. According to A.P. JASSEN in 1QS 9:11 these three figures are eschatological, but the prophet should appear in the eschatological era before the arrival of the two messiahs.

²⁹⁴ 1 Kgs 19:16; Isa 61:1; Ps 105:15//1 Chr 16:22.

²⁹⁵ G.G. XERAVITS, “Moses Redivivus in Qumran?” *The Qumran Chronicle* 11 (2003) 99.

²⁹⁶ See e.g. D. HAMIDOVIĆ, “Peut-on penser une histoire intellectuelle du premier messianisme juif à partir des manuscrits de Qumrân?” in D. HAMIDOVIĆ, ed., *Aux origines des messianismes juifs, Actes du colloque international tenu en Sorbonne, à Paris les 8 et 9 juin 2010*, Vetus Testamentum. Supplements 158, (Leiden/Boston, 2013) 103: “Le messie est bien un personnage de salut, mais il est attendu à la fin des temps. Il a pour mission principale de délivrer le peuple juif;” J.A. FITZMYER, *The One Who Is to Come* (Cambridge, 2007) 1: “an eschatological, anointed human agent of God, who was to be sent by Him as a deliverer and was awaited in the end time.”

²⁹⁷ J.J. COLLINS, “Patterns of Eschatology at Qumran,” in B. HALPERN – J.D. LEVENSON, eds., *Traditions in Transformation. Turning Points in Biblical Faith* (Winona Lake, 1981) 355.

²⁹⁸ D. DIMANT, *History, ideology and Bible interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls: collected studies* (Tübingen, 2014) 305.

²⁹⁹ Cf. e.g. 1QS 1:14; 3:15; 4:13; 10:1; 1QSB 4:26; 5:18; CD 2:9-10; 6:14; 1QH^a 9:25-26; 1QM 10:15.

³⁰⁰ J.J. COLLINS, “Patterns of Eschatology at Qumran,” in B. HALPERN – J.D. LEVENSON, eds., *Traditions in Transformation. Turning Points in Biblical Faith* (Winona Lake, 1981) 357.

22). This perspective relates to the messiahs, but in our case the expected role of a “new Moses” and/or Elijah is that of the expected prophet.

Elijah could be the “new Moses” because his role is to change the hearts of the parents and children and bring them to the Lord before the arrival of the messiah(s). In the Biblical history Moses and Elijah are multivalent figures with several tasks to accomplish. In the Qumran texts their role is especially prophetic, eschatological and preliminary to the coming of a messianic figure.

4.3.4. Could the Teacher of Righteousness be conceived as on the model of Moses and/or Elijah?

In the previous chapter some peculiarities about the Teacher of Righteousness have been examined; he seems to be a controversial figure because a historical and an eschatological Teacher are present. Indeed, he is only mentioned in the *Damascus Document* (CD) and in four *Pesharim*. In these fragments he has different roles.

A.P. Jassen³⁰¹ argues that in 1QS 9:7-9 it is written that before the coming of the Teacher of Righteousness the Sons of Aaron have the task of making the *Yahad* respect the precepts in judicial and financial matters and also the משפטים הנשונים “first precepts” in which the men of the *Yahad* were instructed (l. 10).

These משפטים הנשונים “first precepts”, an expression also used in CD 20:31-32, will be completed by the משפטים הרונים “last precepts” as written in CD 20:8-9. D. Hamidović³⁰² has an interesting explanation of these first and last precepts. He asserts that the *Yahad* distinguishes תורה נגלה “revealed Torah” from תורה נסתר “hidden Torah”. The first is the Torah known by the Jewish people while the second Torah is known only by the Essenes (1QS 11:6). In connection with this point, according to CD 3:12-16 the sons of Zadok have the role of revealing the hidden meanings of the Torah, as the Essenes made an exegetical work that is a collection of biblical passages reorganized by topic. These are the so-called *pesharim*. Therefore, the *Yahad* put the first precepts on the same level as the last precepts (1QS 11:6) because, as written in 1QS 9:9-11, משפטים הנשונים the “first precepts” are inserted in an eschatological context, and the משפטים הרונים “last precepts” are for the end of the eschatological period and the messianic era. According to the *Damascus Document*, the Teacher takes his place in the *Yahad* twenty years after its foundation (CD 1:10). The Teacher will have the task of guiding the community towards the way of the heart of God (CD 1:11). However, in CD 6:7-11 an eschatological

³⁰¹ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 167, n. 68.

³⁰² D. HAMIDOVIĆ, “La Halakhah chez les Esséniens et son rôle dans la Question Messianique,” *Revue des Études Juives* 167/3-4 (2008) 345-353.

scene is described in which יורה הצדק “one who teaches righteousness” is expected. But if the Teacher is present in the *Yahad*, who is the expected יורה הצדק “one who teaches righteousness?” Some scholars identify him with the Interpreter of the Law.³⁰³ This figure, according to A.P. Jassen³⁰⁴ is a priestly messiah and D. Hamidović³⁰⁵ opines that the function of the Interpreter of the Law is found in Deuteronomy 33:8-11 in which the priest or the descendants of Levi have the task of instructing the *Yahad* about the Torah. This assertion exists in 4Q175 even though the label “Messiah of Aaron” is not present. Nevertheless D. Hamidović notes that, in this context, the priestly messiah has the task of teaching the Torah at the end of days, but in other fragments he has different functions that are eschatological and not messianic, as in the *War Scroll* (1QM) or the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa).

However in *Pesher Habakkuk*, the Teacher has the role of foretelling the fulfilment of all the words of the prophets (1QpH 2:5-10), because God made him know all the mysteries of his servants, the prophets (1QpH 7:4-5). According to D. Dimant³⁰⁶ there is a contrast between the revelation of historical mysteries embodied in the prophecies and the revelation of inner meanings.³⁰⁷ Therefore the Teacher of Righteousness has a special capacity for interpreting the Torah; a role that is like that of Moses, who in the Biblical history is the prophet *par excellence*. D. Dimant³⁰⁸ argues that in *Pesher Habakkuk* exegetical rules are present and that these are different from the biblical ones. The exegetical rules are similar to those used to interpret dreams or visions, like those of seers of apocalyptic visions. Moreover, while the seers have revelations from angels or from dreams, in the Qumran texts the Teacher of Righteousness receives a direct revelation. D. Dimant considers that the Teacher cannot be the expected prophet or comparable to “new Moses” because the task of the Teacher is that of interpreting the prophecy. I disagree, because in Numbers 12:8 God speaks with Moses פה אל־פה “mouth to mouth” and he does not use riddles. Therefore, Moses is not only a prophet, but he is a mediator of God Who reveals all mysteries to him, as in 4Q378 26:1 in which Moses יודע דעת עליון “knows the knowledge of the Most High”.

The Teacher also has a prophetic task, even though in a different way to the other prophets, but he is also a lawgiver as he gives a set of laws to the community. From this perspective the expected

³⁰³ See e.g. G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2003) 49, n. 47; J.J. COLLINS, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (Grand Rapids, 1995) 148.

³⁰⁴ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 191, n. 68.

³⁰⁵ D. HAMIDOVIĆ, “Aux origines du messianisme sacerdotal,” in L. HUSSON - G. PALOMAR - J.S. REY, eds., *Attentes messianiques, Théologies et cultures* 5, (Metz, 2015) 46.

³⁰⁶ D. DIMANT, *History, Ideology and Bible interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls: collected studies* (Tübingen, 2014) 305.

³⁰⁷ In the Biblical history the difference between revelation and interpretation is possible, like for the dreams of Joseph (Gen 40:12, 18; 41:17) and Daniel (Dan 2:18-28; 4:1-5, 16; 5:5-17) and also Daniel’s interpretation of the prophecy of Jeremy (Dan 9:2; 3:20-22).

³⁰⁸ D. DIMANT, *History, Ideology and Bible interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls: collected studies* (Tübingen, 2014) 307.

Teacher could be shaped on the figure of Moses because he receives the words directly from the mouth of God (1QpH 2:2-3). G.J. Brooke³⁰⁹ claims that if, on the one hand, the Teacher cannot have a prophetic role because he is a leader of the community, on the other hand, in *Pesher Habakkuk*, the Teacher is often identified as a prophetic figure and he has a soteriological role, because he interprets the Torah and all members of the *Yahad* that are faithful to him will be saved. For A.P. Jassen,³¹⁰ the Teacher is not a *nābî* but there is a correspondence between the historical Teacher and the expected prophet in which the first is the ancestor of the second. Moreover, the Teacher often is compared to a “new Moses” because he corresponds to this biblical stereotype. This highlights that for the *Yahad* the person of Moses is a central figure. The Teacher appears as a recipient of the word because he is able to investigate the deep mysteries that seem enigmatic for the reader. Therefore, the Teacher has the role of explaining the revelation of God. This task should be accomplished by the expected “ones who teach righteousness”, that is who are comparable to the expected prophet of 1QS 9:11 or the prophet “like Moses” in 4Q175.

³⁰⁹ G.J. BROOKE, “Was the Teacher of Righteousness Considered to Be a Prophet?” in K. De TROYER – A. LANGE, eds., *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy*, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 52 (Leuven, 2009) 87, 93.

³¹⁰ A.P. JASSEN, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) 382, n. 68.

4.4. Conclusion

At the end of this chapter two different ways to understand Moses and Elijah have emerged. In the Hebrew Bible, both have some unique characteristics that fit in many ways with the thinking of Qumran.

In previous pages I have compared Moses, Elijah and David in the Hebrew Bible; it is now appropriate to add some points about David in the Qumran texts.

In 11Q5 27:2-11 or 11QPS^a the figure of David is emphasized. J. Sanders³¹¹ named this fragment “David’s Compositions”. According to P. Flint,³¹² J. Sanders opined that 11QPS^a was part of the “Qumran Psalter” that the *Yahad* considered to be the true Davidic Psalter. This text gives us important information about the figure of David in Qumran, because David is defined as חכם “wise”, he is like ואור כאור השמש “the light of the sun”, he is סופר “literate”, he has a רוח נבונה ואורה “discerning and enlightened spirit”. Moreover, David wrote 4,050 psalms and songs to sing before the altar of burnt offerings because he כול אלה דבר בנבואה אשר נתן לו מלפני העליון “composed through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High” (l. 11). These features celebrate the figure of David, and especially his prophetic role that appears to overlap with the last words of David in 2 Samuel 23:1ff. In the Qumran texts David’s psalms and songs are emphasized: they are a form of revelation from the Most High. There is a prophetic role but delimited to sapiential revelation. Indeed, David in the Qumran texts is not a prophetic figure but royal and messianic.

References to David are usually found in an epithet such as צמח דוד “Branch of David” and נשיא כל העדה “Prince of the Congregation”. Both titles are present in *Sefer Ha-Milhamah* or 4Q285 7:3-4. In this context they make reference to Isaiah 11, and according to J.J. Collins,³¹³ the Branch of David is identified with the Prince of the Congregation. However, these two titles are also present in several separate fragments but the Prince of the Congregation has a martial activity, and also royal characteristics with Davidic references, as in 1QSb, 4Q161 and 4Q285. Concerning the Branch of David, in the so-called Library of Qumran, this expression appears also with an eschatological (4Q161; 4Q174) and messianic (4Q252; 4Q285) background as הצדק משיח “righteous messiah”.

As in Qumran, Moses, Elijah and David have different roles in the biblical context, and David cannot be a relevant figure in our study. Instead, Moses and Elijah are highlighted in relation to several tasks in the Hebrew Bible while in the Qumran sectarian and non-sectarian writings their role is emphasized only for some.

³¹¹ J.A. SANDERS, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 [11QPs^a]*, in J.A. SANDERS, ed., *Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan IV* (Oxford, 1965).

³¹² P.W. FLINT, “The Book of Psalms in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Vetus Testamentum* 48/4 (1998) 459.

³¹³ J.J. COLLINS, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (Grand Rapids, 1995) 65.

We have seen that in biblical history Moses and Elijah are not only prophets but have several tasks that are occasionally similar even though sometimes the same identification is present but with different usages. This is noticeable in the epithet *איש האלהים* “man of God” that implies a marked relationship with God in the case of Moses, while with Elijah it especially means to perform miracles. Moreover, while Moses appears like a multivalent person, Elijah is a mediator. Their positions seem to be different; however, they are complementary in the Hebrew Bible and in the Qumran texts. In the Hebrew Bible they appear coupled only in Malachi 3:22: in this passage Moses symbolizes the Torah, and Elijah the prophets. According to D. Hamidović,³¹⁴ Moses and Elijah are in an eschatological context the model of the expected prophet at the end of days.

Finally, in my opinion, in the writings of Qumran Moses and Elijah are two eschatological prophets that the *Yahad* choose because they are two principal figures of the biblical history. I hope to demonstrate that they appear complementary and also similar but with different specific characteristics. In the texts of Qumran, Moses is the first model of a prophetic messianic figure and then the figure of “new Moses” is reused for Elijah. This explains why in many of the Qumran texts it is difficult to choose between the pattern of Moses and of Elijah. Moreover, Moses and Elijah are two messianic figures in the sense used in Qumran, but they are not the expected Messiah of Israel and Aaron.

³¹⁴ D. HAMIDOVIĆ, “Peut-on penser une histoire intellectuelle du premier messianisme juif à partir des manuscrits de Qumrân?”, in D. HAMIDOVIĆ, ed., *Aux origines des messianismes juifs, Actes du colloque international tenu en Sorbonne, à Paris les 8 et 9 juin 2010*, Vetus Testamentum. Supplements 158, (Leiden/Boston, 2013) 103, 116.

5. Chapter 3 - The Relationship between Moses and Elijah in the Talmudim

5.1. Introduction

Before scanning the figure of Moses and Elijah in Palestinian and Babylonian Talmudim, it is rightful to mention Oral and Written traditions, because the Talmudim are part of an Oral tradition. Both traditions were transmitted by earliest Sages (חכמים)³¹⁵ to their students over the centuries. It was like a chain of transmission; in fact it is written:

משה קיבל תורה מסיני ומסרה ליהושע ויהושע לזקנים לנביאים ונביאים מסרוה לאנשי כנסת הגדולה הם אמרו שלשה דברים היו מתונין בדין והעמידו [והעמידו] תלמידי[ם] (ג) הרבה ועשו סייג לתורה.

Moses received the Torah from the Sinai and he delivered it to Joshua; Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets; the prophets delivered it to the men of Great Assembly and they said, three words will be considered in court raised by scholars; they will make great defence to the Torah (*m. 'Abot 1:1*).

As asserted by G. Foot-Moore,³¹⁶ there is not divergence between written and unwritten Torah because both tend to the same point. Unwritten Torah allowed us to see the implication of the rules compared with other rules, and the work of the schools needed to establish a connection between Scripture and Oral tradition. In this case, the authenticity of the unwritten Torah refers to Moses through an interrupted chain of transmission as described above in the tractate Avot. Moreover, it evidences that Oral Tradition is grounded in Written Torah. Starting at this point it is possible to perceive that Oral transmission is especially a mnemonic work that was handed down from Sage to Sage generating an unbroken succession. In a baraita³¹⁷ it is written:

תנו רבנן כיצד משנה משה למד מפי הגבורה נכנס אהון ושנה לו משה פירקו נסתלק אהרן וישב לשמאל משה נכנסו בניו ושנה להן משה פירקו נסתלקו בניו אלעזר ישב לימין משה ואיתמר לשמאל אהרן רבי יהודה אומר לעולם אהרן לימין משה חוזר נכנסו זקנים ושנה להן משה פירקו נסתלקו זקנים נכנסו כל העם ושנה להן משה פירקו נמצאו ביד אהרן ארבעה ביד בניו שלשה וביד הזקנים שנים כל העם אחד. נסתלק משה ושנה להן אהרן פירקו נסתלק אהרן שנו להן בניו פירקו נסתלקו בניו להן זקנים פירקו נמצאו ביד הכל ארבעה. מכאן אמר רבי אליעזר חייב אדם לשנות לתלמידו ארבעה פעמים וקל וחומר ומה אהרן שלמד משה ומשה מפי הגבורה כך הדיוט מפי הדיוט על אחת כמה וכמה.

³¹⁵ According to C. HEZSER, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen, 1997) 56-61. Sage is a pre-70 C.E. word, because the epithet Rabbi (רבי) was used after the destruction of the Second Temple. About this last, it was used first in the Gospels to indicate Jesus. The Greek word to state Rabbi, is $\rho\alpha\beta\beta\iota$, $\rho\alpha\beta\beta\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ (our teacher) or also $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. While the first two appellations imply that Jesus was considered with special authority and were used by the disciples, the latter was used only by outsiders to indicate a Rabbi. Moreover, the term rabbi was used in pre-70 C.E. only for those persons that enjoyed esteem from someone, after 70 C.E. it was applied only for the teacher of the Law.

³¹⁶ G. FOOTMOORE, *Judaism* (Peabody, 1960) 254.

³¹⁷ A baraita is an external source to the Mishnah, and it has tannaitic origins.

The Sages taught: What was the true order of teaching? Moses learned by the mouth of the Almighty. Aaron entered and Moses taught him the lesson (that he had learned from God). Aaron came and sat to the left of Moses. The sons of Aaron entered, and Moses repeated them his lesson. Eleazar sat to the right of Moses and Itmar to the left of Aaron. Rabbi Yehuda said: Forever Aaron was sat to the right of Moses. The elders entered and Moses taught them his lesson. Therefore, Aaron had (heard) four times, his sons (heard it) three, the elders (heard it) twice and the people (heard it) once. Moses departed and Aaron repeated them the lesson (that he had learned from Moses). Aaron departed and his sons repeated the lesson (that they had heard from Aaron) to the elders. The sons departed and the elders repeated the lesson (that they had learned from the sons of Aaron). From here, Rabbi Eliezer said: one person is obliged to teach his students (his lesson) four times. Therefore, if Aaron learned from Moses and Moses from the Almighty, in the same way an ordinary (student) from the mouth of an ordinary (priest). How much more so (he must review his studies four times). (*b. 'Eruvin 54b*)

This last teaching describes the importance of hearing the lesson four times to memorize it. This is the organization from the transmission of the Mishna or “Repeated Tradition”. Only Moses receives it from the All-Powerful One, and the others follow those received directly from Moses. As E. Shanks Alexander³¹⁸ asserts, in this way Oral and Written Torah were transmitted from Moses to the Jewish people. J. Neusner³¹⁹ explains that the unwritten Torah that was reported orally, was susceptible to change because it depended from mnemonic ability to their transmitters. Therefore, when the Oral tradition was written, its authority was fully recognized.

The Tanna'im are the first generation of Sages and they were present until 200 C.E. Tanna'im or “Reciters” had the role of memorising and repeating the tradition to other people or students, so that they transmitted to the next generations. According to C. Hezser,³²⁰ the first Tanna'im could be Pharisees or descendants from a pharisaic movement, as well as others who were of priestly lineage.

After the tannaitic period there were the Amora'im or “Spokesmen” that were those who explained and interpreted the sources of their legal rules as the Mishna. They were present from 200-500 C.E. Then, there were the generation of Stamma'im or “Anonymous” from 550-750 C.E., and finally the Sabora'im or “Reviewers” from 700-750 C.E. All these generations of Sages took place chronologically for the development of the Mishna, Tosefta, Palestinian Talmud and Babylonian Talmud.

³¹⁸ E. SHANKS ALEXANDER, “The Orality of Rabbinic Writings,” in C.E. FONROBERT – M.S. JAFFEE ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature* (Cambridge, 2007) 41.

³¹⁹ J. NEUSNER, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* (Atlanta, 1999) 144-145.

³²⁰ C. HEZSER, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen, 1997) 70.

M.S. Jaffee³²¹ asserts that after the destruction of the Second Temple, the end of the priesthood was reached, while the scribal activity remained fundamental because the scribes were those who keep in being the voice of the prophets. However, in this time, until third century, some scribes were also Sages, and their authority was above all outlined by their wisdom rather their scribal skills.

The rabbinic movement started in the second century C.E. as a rural movement in small settlements of Galilee, and then in villages or cities like Yavneh and Usha, Tiberias and Caesarea, Sepphoris, Beth Shean, Acco, and others. In these cities there were the structures in which Sages met each other, or with other people. According to tannaitic and also amoraic sources, the first place of meeting were the private houses or the houses of Sages, in the courtyard or in the upper room, sometimes Sages stayed in the market or in the bathhouse. Sages had their students that sometimes left their families for a specific time. Then, when the students became Sages, they had their disciples and formed a new circle of study.

In Palestine after the third century C.E., a legal system that was called “academy” was instituted in which halakhic questions were discussed.³²² These academies were headed by Sages.

In amoraic times, the rabbinic structure slightly differs from the tannaitic era. Sages dwelled in the larger towns of Palestine³²³ that became urbanized because under Herodians, Vespasian and Hadrian, Severans until Constantine, more towns were founded or rebuilt as Beth Shean that become Scythopolis, Sepphoris, Tiberias, Caesarea Philippi (before it was Paneas), Shechem, Sebaste and other academies were structured by students around their teachers. But “houses of study” or “halls” also existed in which people gathered to study the Torah.³²⁴ In tannaitic times the synagogue was considered as a place of holiness, and also the first Amora'im thought that God was present in it. After this time, the synagogues were used as a house of study and teaching.³²⁵ However, both in tannaitic and amoraic times, the presence of central rabbinic institution seems to be attested in literature like Yavneh and then Usha, Beth Shearim, Sepphoris and Tiberias. C. Hezser³²⁶ opines that these cities were seats of Sanhedrin. According to a historical perspective Yavneh should have been the first place of Sanhedrin until to 135 C.E., and then to Usha. According to rabbinical accounts Sages brought several cases in the council of Yavneh as a site of legal discussions, thus D.M.

³²¹ M. S. JAFFEE, *Torah in the Mouth* (Oxford, 2001) 66.

³²² C. HEZSER, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen, 1997) 185.

³²³ C. HEZSER, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen, 1997) 158-159.

³²⁴ C. HEZSER, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen, 1997) 196, 203.

³²⁵ C. HEZSER, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen, 1997) 224.

³²⁶ C. HEZSER, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen, 1997) 173-174.

Goodblatt³²⁷ observes that in Yavneh there was a central court, but it could be possible that the Sages were resident in few villages with people asking them advice in their place of belonging.

C. Hezser makes an important point when she describes the “network theory” about the relationship among Sages. Indeed, according to this theory, “a network is a set of nodes”³²⁸ in which personal connections characterize the base of the structure. In this way rabbinic circles appear as a cluster whose grapes are connected among themselves. The Sages had a busy life, they visited their colleagues, they went to weddings, circumcisions, burials of their colleagues. Sometimes, they travelled together and also stayed together in the bathhouses, inns or common places. The transmission of traditions often occurred with meals, and Sages travelled between Babylon and Palestine or vice versa.³²⁹ This exchange of information has allowed the Sages to create a chain of tradition in which a direct and indirect exchange of sources was possible between these two talmudic communities.

The Amora'im in the Land of Israel began to transmit dialectical argumentations that contained halakhic debates. These debates constituted the Palestinian Talmud that was edited (400 C.E.) with a lot of dialectical argumentations but not like those of the Babylonian Talmud that were much more complex. However, in Babylon the transmission of these dialectical argumentations happens in the stammaitic era (700-750 C.E.).³³⁰

To describe the figure of Moses and Elijah in the Mishna, Tosefta, Palestinian and Babylonian Talmudim, I select some significant passages. Moses and Elijah are very articulated because they have some points in common but with different perspectives, and also different characteristics that distinguish them. Beginning with Mishna and Tosefta, and proceeding with Talmudim, it will be possible to determine that some histories will be proposed then expanded because the Sages add comments and discussions that implement the initial argument. Therefore, following the logic of the *corpus* that is transmitted from generation to generation, it is possible to perceive changes and differences between the rabbinic schools of Palestine and Babylon.

³²⁷ D. M. GOODBLATT, *The Monarchic Principle. Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity* (Tübingen, 1994) 242.

³²⁸ C. HEZSER, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen, 1997) 234.

³²⁹ C. HEZSER, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen, 1997) 234-235.

³³⁰ D. WEISS HALIVNI, *The Formation of the Babylonian Talmud* (New York, 2013) 118.

5.2. Moses and Elijah in Mishna and Tosefta

5.2.1. Introduction

According to M.S. Jaffee,³³¹ the Mishna³³² is the most important text of the tannaitic generation; the Tanna or “repeater of tradition” transmits those that he heard by previous Sages, for that reason his knowledge is mnemonic and the collective consensus about a tradition is often attested against the thought of single individual. M.S. Jaffee³³³ makes important reflection about the different terminology of the meaning of Mishna or “Repeated Tradition”. Effectively it is possible to find this expression in the mishnaic text and in this case, it does not imply the Mishna in its entirety, but only the transmission of information from someone to another. Otherwise, the Talmud is shaped from a collection of “repeated traditions”. In this context it is possible to note that both Oral and Written Torah are orally delivered, but material form changes because in the Written Torah written Scripture is present. However, according to C. Hezser,³³⁴ Tanna'im are composed by scholars and teachers of the Torah that existed before the 70 C.E., and they could be priests or belong to a sect, they had as a common point the study of the Torah, and never define themselves as Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes or Christians. For the editor of the Mishna sectarianism ends with the institution of Yavneh that marks the beginning of rabbinic Judaism. The rabbinic movement is outlined by different periods and stages. Previous tannaitic time there were the “sages” term used for a wise man before the 70 C.E.

About of the redaction of the Mishna, D. Weiss Halivni³³⁵ affirms that Rabbi Yehuda Ha Nasi (Rabbi) played an important role in its edition, in fact the Talmud ascribes him as editor רבי ורבי נתן (Rabbi and Rabbi Nathan mark the end of the Mishna” (*b. B. Meši'a* 86a). D. Weiss Halivni argues that when the Tanna'im disagreed about several rules, Rabbi and his Sages assigned degrees of authority of this law. Indeed, if the law was composed as anonymous rules, without any disagreement, it holds the highest authority, but if the law had some disagreement, it had a low level of authority; however, if it was formulated with disagreement among Tanna'im, this law had a lower authority. It implies that the Sages followed the opinion of Rabbi producing anonymous rules. Rabbi was responsible for the closure (*hatimah*) of the Mishna after tannaitic time.³³⁶

³³¹ M. S. JAFFEE, *Torah in the Mouth* (Oxford, 2001) 69.

³³² In this work I used *Shishah Sidre Mislmeilt*, ed. CH. ALBECK, 6 vols. (Jerusalem – Tel Aviv, 1988) [= Jerusalem, 1952-59].

³³³ M. S. JAFFEE, *Torah in the Mouth* (Oxford, 2001) 69.

³³⁴ C. HEZSER, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen, 1997) 69.

³³⁵ D. WEISS HALIVNI, *The Formation of the Babylonian Talmud* (New York, 2013) 103.

³³⁶ D. WEISS HALIVNI, *The Formation of the Babylonian Talmud* (New York, 2013) 113.

The Mishna is especially a halakhic formulation, and A. Goldberg³³⁷ explains that the Mishna refers to the thought of the Schools of Hillel and Shammai, but when the discussion continued the anonymous Mishna ignored the view of the School of Shammai. Therefore, the Mishna is a book of laws that were given to the people, but only at Yavneh all these laws were put in writings. After that time, the edition of the Mishna was in continuous progress so that A. Goldberg³³⁸ affirms that there were four generations of Sages, even though there are some Sages that belong before the destruction of the Second Temple, and others after; the Tannaitic time begins only at Yavneh. The Sages before Yavneh were especially Shemaiah and Avtalyon (40 B.C.E.) and then, Hillel and Shammai (20 B.C.E.-4 C.E.).

The first generation that composed the first layer were Tanna'im and it is necessary to record the Schools of Hillel and Shammai, Gamliel I, Hanina ben Dosa, Shimon ben Gamliel, then in the second generation there were Yoḥanan ben Zakkai, Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, and R. Aqiva whose teachings are present also in the third generation with his pupil Rabban Shimon ben Gamliel II. In the third generation there were the students of R. Aqiva as R. Meir, Shimon bar Yoḥai. The last layer contains teachings of the disciples of R. Aqiva under the vision of R. Yehuda Ha Nasi.

The Mishna is divided into six Orders (*sedarim*), each Order in tractates (*massekhot*), tractates in chapters (*perakim*) and finally chapters in *mishnayot* or pericopes. Total numbers of tractates are sixty-three. In all these tractates daily problems are discussed that the Sages try to face sometimes for a chapter or more. The Mishna ends its edition with last generation of Tanna'im and in 300 C.E. the Tosefta was edited. Its name means "Supplement" because it is a mishnaic commentary, in fact its authors are among the last Tanna'im and the first Amora'im. J. Neusner³³⁹ defines the Tosefta as a *trait d'union* between the Mishna and the two Talmudim, because its interpretation is impossible without the Mishna and Talmudim. J. Neusner affirms also that the Tosefta³⁴⁰ is a Talmud because it was created in the same rabbinic circles that drafted thirty-nine of sixty-three tractates of the Mishna and the Palestinian Talmud. Accordingly, the redactional structure of the Tosefta depends from the Mishna because as above, it is impossible to understand the Tosefta out of the context of the mishnaic material.

³³⁷ A. GOLDBERG, "The Mishna – A Study Book of Halakha," in S. TOMSON – Z. SAFRAI – P.J. SCHWART, ed., *The Literature of the Sages, Part 2: Midrash & Targum, Liturgy, Poetry, Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science and the Languages of Rabbinic Literature* (Philadelphia, 1987) 213.

³³⁸ A. GOLDBERG, "The Mishna – A Study Book of Halakha," in S. TOMSON – Z. SAFRAI – P.J. SCHWART ed., *The Literature of the Sages, Part 2: Midrash & Targum, Liturgy, Poetry, Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science and the Languages of Rabbinic Literature* (Philadelphia, 1987) 215, 235.

³³⁹ J. NEUSNER, *The Tosefta* (Peabody, 2002) XII-XVI.

³⁴⁰ In this work I used *The Tosefta. The Orders of Zeraim, Moed, Nashim, and Nezikin*, in S. LIEBERMAN ed., (New York, 1955-1988); and *Tosephta*, in M.S. ZUCKERMANDEL, ed., (Jerusalem, 1970).

The figures of Moses and Elijah in Mishna and Tosefta appear variegated especially that of Moses, because Elijah presents some regularities. Indeed, about Moses there are some cases in which he is the intercessor of the people of Israel before the Lord (*m. Yoma* 3:8; *t. Kipp.* 2:1); Moses has divergences with Aaron about the second tales of the Golden Calf (*m. Meg.* 4:10; *t. Meg.* 3:36); Moses is worthy to take the bones of Joseph and burial him in Hebron with his fathers (*m. Soṭah* 1:10; *t. Soṭah* 4:7); Moses is a virtuous man that is able to convey these virtues to the Israelites (*m. 'Abot* 5:18). Moses has many peculiarities; he appears as a multivalent personality because God gave him many gifts. Differently Elijah is mentioned especially for the resurrection of the dead. In Mishna and Tosefta, Elijah is rarely named but in these cases he will come to bring order, peace and justice before the coming of the Messiah (*t. Soṭah* 12:5; *m. Soṭah* 9:15; *t. Soṭah* 13:2; *m. 'Ed.* 8:7; *t. 'Ed.* 3:4).

5.2.2. Some aspects of Moses in Mishna and Tosefta

5.2.2.1. Mishna Yoma 3:8	5.2.2.2. Tosefta Kippurim 2:1
<p>בא לו אצל פרו ופר היה עומד בין האולם [ו] למזבח ראשו דרום ופניו למערב וכהן עומד במזרח ופניו למערב וסמך שתי ידיו עליו ונתוודה וכך היה או אנא השם עויתי פשעתי חטאתי לפניך אני וביתי אנא השם כפר נא לעוונות לפשעים ולחטאים שעויתי שפשעת[י] ושחטתי לפניך אני וביתי ככ בתור משה עבדך לאמר כי ביום הזה וגו והן עונים אחריו ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד.</p> <p>He came beside his bull, and the bull was standing between the Porch [and] the altar. His head was to South and his face to West. The priest was standing to East and his head to West to support, and his hands upon it to pray. So, it was said: I implored, O Lord, I committed iniquity, I transgressed, I sinned before You, I and my house. Oh Lord forgive my iniquities and transgressions and sins which I have committed and transgressed and sinned before You, I and my house as written in the Torah of Moses Your servant, that said: because in this day it is concluded (the atonement) and they answered after him: blessed the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever and ever.</p>	<p>כיצד הוא מתודה אנא השם עויתי פשעתי חטאתי לפניך אני וביתי אנא השם כפר נא על העוונות ועל הפשעי ועל החטאים שעויתי ושפשעתי ושחטאתי לפניך אני וביתי ככתוב בתור משה עבדך כי ביום הזה יכפר עליכם וגו ואומ והתוד עליו את כל עונות בני ישראל ואת כל פשעיהם לכל הטאתם דברי רבי מאי וחכמים אומדים עונות אלו הזדונות פשעים אלו המרדים חטאים אלו השגגות מאחד שמתודה על הזדונות ועל המרדי חוזר ומתודה על השגגות אלא כיכד מתודה אנא השם חטאתי עויתי פשעתי לפניך אני השם כפר נא לחטאים ולעוונות ולפשעים שחטאתי ושעווייתי ושפשעתי לפניך אני וביתי ככתוב בתור משה עבדך כי ביו הזה יכפר עליכם לטהר אתכם וגומד והן עונים אחריו ברוך שם כבוד וגומר שכן מצינו דרך כל המתודי מתודין דוד אמר חטאנו עם אבותינו העונו והרשענו שלמה אמר חטאנו ועוינו ופשענו דניאל אמר חטאנו והרשענו ומרדנו אלא מהו שמשא אומר נושא עון ופשע וחטאה ונקא אלא כך היה מתודה חטאתי ועויתי ופשעתי לפניך.</p> <p>In which way he made thanksgiving? Oh Lord I have committed iniquity, I transgressed, I sin before Him. I and my house. Now please my Lord, he atoned upon iniquity, transgression and sin and before You, I and my house as written in the Torah of Moses His servant, because on this day will atone upon you and in you. He will confess upon him all iniquities of the sons of Israel and all transgressions of all their sins, words of Rabbi Meir.</p> <p>The Sages say: Iniquities, if premeditated; transgressions, if they are rebels; sins, if they err. After thanksgiving about consciousness and about rebellion, he returns to confess. In which way you confess its? Now, oh Lord I sinned, I committed iniquity, I transgressed before you. Oh Lord he did atonement. Now they sin, commit iniquity, and transgress, because I sinned, I transgressed, I committed iniquity before You, I and my house as written in the Torah of Moses Your servant. Because they will atone upon you, to clean you will conclude with them after Him, blessed He and His glory forever. Conclude in this way. All I confess, them confess. David said: we sinned together our fathers, we committed iniquity and transgressed. Salomon said: we</p>

	sinned, transgressed and committed iniquity. Daniel said: we sinned, transgressed and we were rebels. Now because Moses said: removed iniquity, transgression and sin? He was unpunished thus he confessed: I sinned, committed iniquity, and transgressed before You.
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In this circumstance a scene of Yom Kippur is portrayed in which the people of Israel made atonement to purify themselves before the Lord (Lev 16:30). According to the Tosefta, in this ritual the High Priest confessed iniquities, transgressions and sins committed before the Lord. The Sages explain that iniquities are acts done deliberately, transgressions however are acts of rebellion and sins are misdeeds done inadvertently. As Moses said in his Torah

נצר חסד לאלפים נשא עון ופשע וחטאה ונקה לא ינקה פקד עון אבות על־בני בנים על־שליש ועל־רבעים

“(The Lord) keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin and he does not leave unpunished the iniquity of the fathers upon the children and upon the children of the children to the third and fourth (generation)”, (Exod 34:7).

It means that if misdeeds are deliberately confessed, it is as if they were made inadvertently. In parallel, the Mishna explains that Aaron as High Priest, putting his hands upon the head of a scapegoat, confessed all the iniquities, transgressions and sins of the people of Israel. The scapegoat was standing between the Porch and the Altar, his head twisted to the west, to face the Sanctuary and his body was placed from north to south.³⁴¹ When Aaron pronounced the Name of God, people answered him with a blessing.³⁴²

5.2.2.3. Mishna Meghillah 4:10	5.2.2.4. Tosefta Meghillah 3:36
<p>מעשה ראובן נקרא ולא מתרגם מעשה תמר נקרא ומתרגם מעשה [ה]עגל [ה]ראשון נקרא ומתרגם והשיני ולא מתרגם ברכת כהנים [ו]מעשה דוד ואמנון לא נקרים ולא מתרגמים אין מפטירים במרכבה ר יהודה ר אליעזר אומ אין מפטירין בהודע את ירושלם.</p> <p>The event of Reuben was read and not translated. The event of Tamar was read and translated. The first event of the Calf was read and translated and the second was read and not translated. Nothing has been open with chariot. Rabbi Yehuda</p>	<p>מעשה עגל השני נקרא ולא מתרגם אלו הן מעשה עגל השני מן ויאמר משה אל אהרן מה עסה לך העם הזה עד וירא משה את העם כי פרוע הוא ועוד כתוב אחר ויגוף ה את העם.</p> <p>The second story of the Calf happened and not was interpreted. In the second event of the Calf, what did say Moses to Aaron? What did do (Moses) to the people when he saw? Because punished the people. It is written: the Lord will shut in that day.</p>

³⁴¹ See also *m. Yoma* 6:2.

³⁴² Lev 16:30.

permitted it. Rabbi Eliezer says: nothing was exempt to know Jerusalem.	
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In the Tosefta, the second story of the Golden Calf is mentioned, and according to it, the Tosefta is read but not translated. This story concerns the dialogue between Moses and Aaron as accounted in Exodus 32:25. Moses accuses Aaron of having led the people of Israel to sin and of having left them unrestrained. For that reason, the Sages opine that Aaron had brought the people to shame before their enemies and God sent plagues to the people. According to T. Frymer-Kensky³⁴³ people had demonstrated trust in Moses, when Moses disappears, the Israelites are disheartened and with Aaron decide to create a visible god. It is a substitute of Moses; it is not an idol, but a visible symbol of God. Because the people needed to find trust in a substitute of Moses.

In parallel, the Mishna quotes a lot of stories that are read out but not interpreted, as the story of Reuben,³⁴⁴ Tamar,³⁴⁵ the blessing of the Priests,³⁴⁶ the story of David and Ammon.³⁴⁷

5.2.2.5. Mishna Soṭah 1:10	5.2.2.6. Tosefta Soṭah 4:7
<p>יוסף זכה לקבור את אביו ואין באהיו גדול ממנו שנ ויעל יוסף לקבור את אביו ויעל וגו ויעל עמו ג ר ג פרש ויה המ כב מאד מי לנו גדול (ממשה) שלא ניתעסק בו אלא משה ומשה זצה בעצמות ויסף ואין ביש גדול ממנו שנ ויקח משה את עצמ יוסף עמו ומי לנו גדול ממשה שלא נתעסק בו אלא המקום ברוך הוא שנ ויקבר אתו בגיא וגו ולא על משה בלבד אמרו אלא בכל הצדיקים שנ והלך לפניך צדקך וכבוד יי יוסף.</p> <p>Joseph was found worthy to bury his father and none of his brothers were greater than he. Was said: he (Joseph) went up. Joseph was buried with his father, and he went up with him (his father) and also chariot and horsemen, the camp was very strong. Who among us is greater that Moses? No one was engaged with him except</p>	<p>יוסף זצה בעצמות אביו אף הוא לא נתעסק בו אלא משה שנ ויקח משה את עצמות יוסף עמו מלמד שכל העם היו עסוקין בביוזה והוא עוסק במצוה שנ חכם לב יקח מצות וגו אלו לא היה מעה מתעסק בו לא היו ישר מתעסקין בו תלמוד לומר ואת עצמות יוסף אשר העלו בני ישראל ממצרי קברו בשכם אלא כין שראו ישראל את משה שהוא מתעסק בו אמרו הניחו לו כבודו בגדולין יתר מן הקטנים ואלו לא היה משה וישראל מתעסקין בו לא היו בניו מתעסקין תלמוד לומר ויהיו לבני יוסף לנחלה אלא כיון שראו בניו את משה וישראל שהיו מתעסקין בו אמרו הניחו לו כבודו במרובין יתר מן המועטין מניין היה משה יודע היכן יוסף קבור אמרו סרה בת אשר היתה באותו הדור והלכה ואמרה לו למשה בנילוס נהר יוסף קבור שעשו לו מצריים של מתכת והברום בבעץ והלך משה ועמד על נילוס נהר ואמר יוסף יוסף הגיעה שעה שהקדוש ברוך הוא גואל את ישראל הרי שכינה מעוכבת לך וישר מעכבין לך וענני כבוד מעכבין לך אם אתה מגלה את עצמך מוטב ואם לאו נקיים אנו משבוע שהשבוע את אבותינו</p>

³⁴³ T. FRYMER-KENSKY, "Moses and the Cults: The Question of Religious Leadership," *Judaism* 34/4 (1985) 449.

³⁴⁴ Gen 35:22.

³⁴⁵ Gen 38:13ff.

³⁴⁶ Numb 6:24-26.

³⁴⁷ 2 Sam 11:2-17; 2 Sam 13:1ff.

Moses. Moses was found worthy with bones of Joseph and no one in Israel was greater than him. It is said: Moses took bones of Joseph with him. And who with us is greater than Moses because none was engaged with him (Moses) except the Lord Blessed be He. It is said: buried him in a valley, concluded (the Lord). And not of Moses alone they said, except all the righteous, that is said: Your righteous will walk before you and the glory of the Lord will gather you.

מיד צף ארונו של יוסף ונטלו משה ובא לו ואל תתמה שהרי
 הו אומ ויהיה אחד מפיל הקורה ואת הברזל נפל וגו ויאמר
 איש האלהים אנה נפל ויראהו את המקום ויקצב עץ וישלך
 שמה ויצף הברזל והלא דברים קל וחומר ומה אלישע תלמידו
 של אליהו ואליהו תלמידו של משה כך הציף הברזל משה
 רבו של אליהו רבו של אלישע על אחת כמה ויש אומרים
 בקברות מלכי יוסף היה קבור והלך משה ועמד על קברות
 המלכי ואמר יוסף יוסף מגיעה שעה שהפדוש ברוך הוא גואל
 את ישראל הרי שכינה מעכבת לך וישראל מעוכבי לך וענני
 כבוד מעכבי לך אם את מגלה את עצמך מוטב ואם נקיי
 אנחנו משבוע אשר השבעת את אבותינו מיד הקיץ ארונו של
 יוסף ונטלו משה ובא לו והיו שני ארונות מהלכין אחד ארון
 קוד וארו של מת והיו כל עוברין ושבי אומרין מה טיבן של
 שני ארונות הללו אמרו להם אחד ארון קדש ואחד של מת
 אמרו להם וכי אפש לארו קדש להלך עם ארונו של מת אמרו
 להם מת שבארון קדש זה קיים מה שכתוב ומונח בארו זה.

Joseph was found worthy to be buried with his father, so Moses took him as said: Moses took bones of Joseph with him. It teaches that the people are engaged to plunder, with this and him (Moses) was engaged with mitzvot, as it is said: the wise of heart takes mitzvot. If Moses was not engaged with him (Joseph), Israelites were engaged with him (Joseph)? Scripture said: The bones of Joseph that brought out from Egypt by the children of Israel in a grave of Shechem. But since the Israelites saw Moses to take care of him (Joseph), they said: Leave him be. His (Joseph) glory will be great more additional than which are small. If Moses and Israelites did not take care of him, his children would take care to him? Scripture says: will be possessors to the children of Joseph. But when his children saw Moses and the Israelites took care of him (Joseph) they said: leave him. His glory was numerous than few. How many graves Moses knew of Joseph? They tell: Serah daughter of Aser was descendant of him (Joseph) and she said to Moses: In the river of Nile Joseph is buried. Egyptians did an iron spit and affixed it with tin. Moses went and stood on the river Nile and shouted: Joseph, Joseph, it is the time that the Holy Blessed He be redeeming Israel. Here is the Presence that is curved upon you, and the Israelites are curved upon you, and the cloud of glory is upon you. If you show your bones, well, if you not, we are free from the oath of your hand upon our fathers. He came out the ark belonging to Joseph and laid. Moses went to him. He was not surprised

	<p>because the Scripture says: it was as a fallen beam, the iron to float. He cut the stick and threw it. The iron came out and there are strict words. What Elisha taught to us of Elijah, and Elijah taught us of Moses? This is the coverage of iron. Moses teacher of Elijah teacher of Elisha all the more so.</p> <p>Some say that Joseph was buried at the royal grave. Moses went and stood upon the grave of the kings and said: Joseph, Joseph, shouted. Hear the Holy Blessed He be redeeming Israel. Now the Presence is curved upon you, and the Israelites are curved upon you, and the cloud of glory is curved upon you. If you show your bones well, if not we are free from the oath of your hand upon our fathers. The ark rose and Moses took him. There were two arks that proceeded, one holy ark, and one ark belonging to man. They said: but it is possible that the people and the holy ark walk with the ark of the man? Said to them: The corpse that is in this holy ark belongs to what is written in that which lies in other ark.</p>
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According to the Tosefta, Joseph was buried by Moses as described in Exodus 13:19. However, there are two different opinions about this burial among the Sages. First of all, while the people were occupied with plunder, Moses was busy fulfilling a mitzvot as it is written *יְקַח מִצְוֹת* “The wise in heart will receive commands” (Prov 10:8). The Sages asked if the Israelites would have taken care of Joseph if Moses had not taken care of him. Yet, it is written that the Israelites buried the bones of Joseph at Shechem (Josh 24:32). The same question is raised about the children of Joseph. But it is written that *וַיְהִי לְבְנֵי יוֹסֵף לְנַחֵל* “it was a possession of the children of Joseph”, (Josh 24:32).

Now, the Sages demanded in which way Moses took the bones of Joseph. According to the Sages there were two tales. In the first one, Moses knew that Joseph was buried in the River Nile because Serah, daughter of Asher, was a survivor of the generation of Joseph, and she told Moses where Joseph was buried, and that the Egyptians affixed the coffin of Joseph to metal spits to keep it down. When Moses arrived at the Nile, he called Joseph saying that for the Holy One the time to redeem Israel had reached. Immediately, the coffin of Joseph floated to the surface of the Nile and Moses took it. To this point the Sages put in parallel the tales of Moses and a similar tale about Elisha as written in 2 Kings 6:5-6. The Sages argue that as Elisha a disciple of Elijah, a disciple of Moses, accomplished a similar miracle to Moses, so much easier for Moses who is a master of Elijah, master of Elisha. For the second one, the Sages consider that Joseph was buried in the royal cemetery and

when Moses tried to find him, he called Joseph saying that for the Holy One the time to redeem Israel it had arrived, and the coffin of Joseph shook. Moses took it and went away. In this last case, there were two coffins that travel with the people in the desert, one the Holy Ark and then the ark with the corpse. Everyone who passed asked about these two arks. However, everything about the corpse that was kept in one ark, was written in that which was in the other ark. The Mishna aims its interest in another direction, because it is affirmed that Joseph was recognized as worthy to bury his father and none of his brothers was greater than him. It is likely that Moses buried Joseph and no one in Israel was greater than him.

For that reason, nobody was greater than Moses and the Almighty buried him in an unknown place because it is written that “Your righteousness shall go before you, the glory of the Lord shall be your protection”, (Isa 58:8). In this pericope, the Sages, with skill, compare Moses, Joseph and Elijah with their peculiarities, thus Moses emerges over the others because his greatness is strengthened before God. The Almighty chooses Moses to bury Joseph because nobody is up to it, and since Moses is the greatest of all, only God can bury him. Not surprisingly Elijah is defined as a disciple of Moses.

5.2.2.7. Mishna Soṭah 5:4	5.2.2.8. Tosefta Soṭah 6:2-3
<p>בו ביום דרש ר' עקיבא שאלו ישראל מן הים בקשו לומר שירה שרת עליהן רוח הקדש ואמרו שירה כיוצא אמרו שיר כגדול שמקרא את ההלל בבית הכנס ועונין אחריו על כל עניין משה אמר אשירה לה וישראל אמרו אשירה לה³ משה אמר עזי וזמרת יה וישראל אמרו אשירה לה משה אמר ה איש מלחמה וגו וישראל אשירה לה] לישנ אחר כקטון שקורא את ההליל בבית הסופר ועונין אחריו על כל עניין ועניי משה אמר עזי וזמרתיה וישראל אמרו עזי וזמרת יה משה אמ אשירה לה כי גאה גאה וישראל אמרו אשירה לה כי גאה גאה] רבי אליעזר בנו של רבי יוסי הגלילי אומר כקטון שקורא את הלל בבית הסופר ועונין אחריו על כל דבר ודבר משה אמר אשירה לה וישראל אמרו אשירה לה משה אמר עזי וזמרת יה וישראל אמרו עזי וזמרתיה וישראל אמרו אשירה לה משה אמר ה איש מלחמה. וגו רבי נחמיה אומר כבני אדם שקורין שמע בית הכנסת שנאמר אז ישיר משה וגומר שאין ת"ל לאמור ולמה נאמר מלמד שהיה משה פותח בדבר תחלה וישראל עונין אחריו וגומרין עמו משה אמר אז ישיר ישראל וישראל אמרו אשירה לה כי גאה וגומר משה אמר עזי וזמרת יה וישראל אמרו זה אלי וענוהו משה אמר ה איש מלחמה וישראל אמרו ה שמו.</p> <p>In that day R. Aqiva examined: Then Moses and the children of Israel will sing the song to the Lord and they said that it is not taught to say “saying.” Why was it said by “saying”? But was Israel to answer after Moses above all words. The words were read like the Hallel. Sing to the Lord because He triumphed. For that was said “saying.” R. Neḥemiah said: they were read like the Shema and not like is read the Hallel.</p>	<p>² Interpreted R. Aqiva the moment in which the Israelites came out of the sea and tried to sing a</p>

	<p>singing service. Holy Spirit was upon them and they said the song. In which way said the song? As an adult that proclaim the Hallel in synagogue with the people gathered. Answered after him (Moses) on the whole matter. Moses said: I will song to the Lord. Israel answered: I will song to the Lord.</p> <p>³ Moses said: My strength and song is the Lord. And Israel answered: I will sing to the Lord. Moses said: The Lord is a man of the war. Israel said: I will sing to the Lord. How did say after: Like a child they proclaim the Hallel in synagogue. And they (Israel) answer after him for everything. Moses said: My strength and song is the Lord. Israel said: My strength and song is the Lord. Moses said: Sing to the Lord that triumphed. And Israel said: Sing to the Lord that triumphed. [R. Eliezer ben of R. Yosé the Galilean said: Like a child they proclaim the Hallel in the synagogue and proclaim answering after him (Moses) above every word. Moses said: I will sing to the Lord. And Israel said him: I will sing to the Lord. Moses said: My strength and song is the Lord. And Israel said him: My strength and song is the Lord. Moses said: The Lord is a man of war! R. Neḥemiah said: like child of men they proclaim the Shema gathered in the synagogue. As said: Moses then sing. This teaches that Moses began by opening every matter and Israel answered after him completing with him. Moses said: I will sing to the Lord. And Israel said: Sing to the Lord that triumphed. Moses said: My strength and song is the Lord. And Israel answered: This is my Lord and I praise Him. Moses said: The Lord is a man of war. And Israel said: Lord is his name.</p>
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In these passages the discussion among the Sages deals with the Song of the Sea. R. Aqiva holds that when the Israelites came up from the sea, they proclaimed a song, and because the Holy Spirit was upon them, they sang as a child who recites the Hallel; they answered Moses repeating every phrase.³⁴⁸ According to R. Eleazar b. R. Yosé the Galilean, the people proclaimed the song as a man who proclaims the Hallel in the synagogue, responding to Moses with the foregoing phrase.³⁴⁹ Finally, R. Neḥemiah says that the Israelites answered Moses like men who recite the Shema in the

³⁴⁸ Moses said: “My strength and my song is the Lord” (Exod 15:2), and the Israelites said: “My strength and my song is the Lord.”

³⁴⁹ Moses said: “My strength and my song is the Lord,” and the Israelites said: “I will sing to the Lord.”

synagogue, because they said “saying”.³⁵⁰ It teaches that Moses’ singing began with an affirmation and the Israelites concluded answering him.

5.2.2.9. Tosefta Rosh HaShanah 1:18

למה לא נתפרשו שמותן של זקנים שלא יהא כל אחד ואחד אומר הריני בא להקיש את רבי פלוני לאלדד ומדד הריני בא להקיש את רבי פלוני לנדב ואביהו וכן הוא אומר ה אשר עשה את משה ואת אהרן ואומר וישלח ה את ירובעל ואת יפתח ואת שמואל ירובעל זה גדעון בן זה שמשון יפתח כמשמעו ואומר משה ואהרן בכהניו וגומ שקל הכתו שלשה קלי עולם בין שלשה גדולי עולם ללמדק שבית דינו של ירובעל לפני המקום כבית דינו של משה ובית דינו של יפתח גדול לפני המקום כבי דינו של שמואל להודיעך שכל מי שנתמנה פרנס על הציבור אפילו קל שבקלים שקול כאביר שבאבירים וכן הוא אומר ובאת אל הכהנים הלויים ואל השופט אין לך אלא שופט שבדורך ואומר אל תאמר מה היה וגומ.

Why was not made clear (in the Scripture) the name of the elders? Everyone did not say: Lo, I am touching closely (comparing) a certain R. with Eldad and Medad. I am touching closely (comparing) a certain R. with Nadab and Abihu. So, he said, the Lord that made Moses and Aaron. He said: The Lord sent Jerubal and Badan, and Japhtaḥ and Samuel. Jerubal is like Gideon, Badan is like Sanson, Jephthaḥ is like one who hears. Said Moses: Aaron among his priests. Scripture weighted three long lightweights (persons) separated by three large long-term weights to teach you that the court of Jerubal was before the Omnipresent as the court of Moses. The court of Jephthaḥ was great before the Omnipresent as the court of Samuel. Even if light, you have known by everything that the task provides all the congregation, it is like (equivalent) to the mightiest of the mighty. And so, it said: coming to the Levitical priests and to the judge that judged him to proceed. And said: do not say, what it was?

In this pericope the figure of the righteous that in the Scripture is emphasized is not told. According to the Sages their name does not tally because in this way no one can say “I am not like Eldad and Medad”, nor “I am like Nadab and Abihu”.

The Scripture says, ויאמר שמואל אל־העם יהוה אשר עשה את־משה ואת־אהרן ואשר העלה את־אבותיכם מארץ מצרים וישלח יהוה את־ירבעל ואת־בדן ואת־יפתח ואת־שמואל ויצל אתכם “The Lord sent Jerubbaal, Bedan, Jephthat, and Samuel, and delivered you out of the hand of your enemies, on every side, and you dwelt in safety”, (1 Sam 12:11). However, the Sages put in parallel the verse in which it is written that, משה ואהרן בכהניו ושמואל בקראי שמו “Moses and Aaron were among His priests, and Samuel was among those who called upon His name”, (Ps 99:6).

This comparison allows the Sages to affirm that in the Scripture three lightweights are present along with three heavyweights, but the first ones were greater than the second ones because the court of

³⁵⁰ Moses said: “My strength and my song is the Lord,” and the Israelites said: “This is my God and I will glorify him.”

Jerubbaal is great before the Omnipresent as the court of Moses, as well as the court of Jephthat is great before the Omnipresent as the court of Samuel.

5.2.2.10. Mishna Avot 1:1	5.2.2.11. Tosefta Eduyyot 1:1
<p>משה קיבל תורה מסיני ומסרה ליהושע ויהושע לזקנים לנביאים ונביאים מסרו לאנשי כנסת הגדולה הם אמרו שלשה דברים היו מתונין בדין והעמידו [והעמידו] תלמידי[ם] (ו) הרבה ועשו סייג לתורה.</p> <p>Moses received the Torah from the Sinai and he delivered it to Joshua; Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets; the prophets delivered it to the men of Great Assembly, and they said three words will be: considered in court; raised by scholars; they will make great defence to the Torah.</p>	<p>כשנכנסו חכמי לפרס ביבנה אמרו עתידה שעה שיהא אדם מבקש דבר מדברי תורה ואינו מוצא מדברי סופרים ואינו מוצא שנאמר לכן הנה ימים באים ה' ישוטטו לבכש דבר ה' ולא ימצאו וגומר דבר ה' זו נבואה דבר ה' זה הקץ דבר ה' שלא יהא דבר מדברי תורה דומה לחברו אמרו נתחיל מהלל ושמשאי. שמאי אומר מקב חלה חלל אומר מקבים וחכמים אומרים לא כדברי זה ולא כדברי זה אלא קב ומחצה חייב בחלה שני ראשית עריסותיך כדי עיסתכם וכמה עיסתכם כדי עיסת מדבר וכמה עיסת מדבר בעומר שנאמר והעומר עשירית האיפה היא.</p> <p>Sages were gathered together in a place of Yavneh and said: be prepared looking for a person which will come to search the word of My Torah which is not there. The precept of My word is not there. The precept so said: Behold the days have come, says the Lord, you will wander looking for the word of the Lord and you do not find it.</p> <p>The word of the Lord this (is referred) prophecy. The word of the Lord this (is referred) to the end. The word of the Lord means that was not one word of the Torah it was as an addiction.</p> <p>They said: It was started by Hillel and Shammai. Shammai said: from the measure of the bread. Hillel said: from dry measure.</p> <p>The sages said: not like this word and not like the word of those. But the measure as is said it is made by shattering of the bread. It is said: first dough is enough pressed. And how it is the dough alien? The dough in question is like dough for omer. It was said the omer of ephah.</p>

This passage from Mishna Avot is a classic of rabbinic tradition because it tells of the transmission of the Law from Moses to the men of the Great Synagogue. The chain of transmission begins with Moses that received the Torah from the Sinai, and then to Joshua, Joshua to the elders, the elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue. However, it is in parallel with Tosefta Eduyyot because there are some points in common that will be analysed. M.S.

Jaffee³⁵¹ notes that Mishna Avot 1:1-2:8 portrays the chain of transmission of the Torah understood as dual: Oral Torah and Written Torah. For M.S. Jaffee, the text displays only one Torah, but it is implicit to read in it an Oral Torah that is tied to the teaching of the Sages, and simultaneously to read the presence of the Written Torah that Moses received on the Sinai. It is from this latter that the chain of transmission begins from Moses to R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus. However, there are different opinions among the scholars because not everyone read in Mishna Avot the dual concept of the Torah, because it is not explicit. In this context A. Schremer³⁵² argues that on the Sinai, God handed down a double revelation: Oral Torah and Written Torah. The first was transmitted from the prophets to the elders and then to the Sages of Israel that created the Palestinian Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud. However, A. Schremer³⁵³ makes an interesting supposition putting Mishna Avot in parallel with Tosefta Eduyyot. In the first tractate, the chain of transmission stems from Moses until the Great Synagogue, instead the second has its starting point in the schools of Hillel and Shammai. This assertion implies that rabbinic tradition is rooted in Hillel and Shammai. I think it sounds like a gamble, but the hypothesis is very interesting. A. Schremer³⁵⁴ explains that *t. 'Eduyyot* 1:1 the expression: אמרו נתחיל מהלל ושמשי "Let us begin from Hillel and from Shammai", should be inserted into the context of the Sages of Yavneh that after the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, decide to collect all documents to maintain the Jewish tradition. For that reason, the author asserts that the expression "word of Torah" and "word of scribes" have specific meaning. "Word of scribes" is an expression often used in rabbinic literature and it aims to report the halakhic teaching of the Sages. Instead, "word of Torah" evidences the biblical precept. A. Schremer assumes that the Sages of Yavneh were afraid of not finding either the Torah or the rabbinic teaching, and they tried to identify the belonging of the teachings to the various schools. In this way, they ascribed each halakhic rule to a rabbinic authority. However, it is necessary to consider that Tosefta Eduyyot takes into account only the schools of Hillel and Shammai excluding the others. According to A. Schremer,³⁵⁵ it could be hypothesised that the school of Yavneh was in contrast to the school of Mishna Avot, even though this last has a Sinaitic origin, while in Tosefta Eduyyot there is a clear difference between "word of Torah" and "word of scribes". About this text of Tosefta Eduyyot, M.S. Jaffee³⁵⁶ claims that in this setting the Yavneans anticipate the times in which the Sages forgot their teachings and for that reason,

³⁵¹ M. S. JAFFEE, *Torah in the Mouth* (Oxford, 2001) 84-85.

³⁵² A. SCHREMER, "'Avot' Reconsidered: Rethinking Rabbinic Judaism," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 105/3 (2015) 288.

³⁵³ A. SCHREMER, "'Avot' Reconsidered: Rethinking Rabbinic Judaism," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 105/3 (2015) 303.

³⁵⁴ A. SCHREMER, "'Avot' Reconsidered: Rethinking Rabbinic Judaism," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 105/3 (2015) 305-308.

³⁵⁵ A. SCHREMER, "'Avot' Reconsidered: Rethinking Rabbinic Judaism," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 105/3 (2015) 310-311.

³⁵⁶ M. S. JAFFEE, *Torah in the Mouth* (Oxford, 2001) 82.

they decided to preserve their teachings. According to E.E. Urbach³⁵⁷ in this text the case in which the Sages will find that one precept of the Torah will be different from another is stressed because the halakhot collected from the Schools of Hillel and Shammai have different views, and it is significant to have Sages that were testimonies about these different points of view.

Beyond rabbinic discussion, God decides to give Moses the task of transmitting the Torah to Joshua, the elders, the Prophets until the Great Synagogue so that will be made a great defence of the Torah. This last assertion emphasizes that Moses is qualified to protect the Torah.

5.2.2.12. Mishna Avot 5:18

כל המזכה את הרבים אין חט באה על ידו וכל המחט[י]א את הרבים אין מספיקין בידו לעשות תשובה. משה זכה וזיכה את הרבים וזכות הרבים תלויה בו שנ צדקת ייי עשה ומשפטיו עם יש.

Everyone that was found many righteous, the s[i]n was not upon his hand. And everyone that committed many sins, he is not sufficient of his hand to make repentance. Moses was righteous, and many righteous relied on him, as it is said: The righteousness of the Lord judged him and Israel. Jeroboam sinned and led to sin many, and the sin of many depended by him. It was said: Upon sin-offering, Jeroboam sinned and led to sin Israel.

In these verses the figure of Moses is emphasised; he was a virtuous man, and he has led many people to virtue, because he was accredited by God with a great responsibility for the children of Israel.

According to T. Frymer-Kensky,³⁵⁸ in the books of Exodus and Numbers, the figure of Moses assumes different features because the story of the people of Israel starting from their exit from Egypt until the Sinai, is characterized by an unconditional trust in Moses, because the people are incapable of living in freedom. The people are used to slavery and need to be conducted as a child. Everything Moses fulfils, the people agree with him. However, Moses is in direct contact with God, and he acts only close to God, but the people see only Moses. In fact, in Marah people cannot drink the water, Moses speaks with God, and this latter resolves the problem (Exod 15:22); then the people are hungry, Moses speaks with God and rains bread from heaven (Exod 16:4); at Meribah the people are thirst, Moses implores the Lord and this latter orders him to strike the rock to have water for the people (Exod 17:1-6). Likewise when the people are confronted by the Egyptian, Moses as ordered by God, lifts up the rod, stretches out his hand, and the water of Red Sea is divided and the Egyptians die drowned in the Sea (Exod 14:15 ff); also against Amalek, while the people fought with Amalek, Moses held up his hand and Israel prevailed, but when Moses let down his hand Amalek prevailed,

³⁵⁷ E. E. URBACH, *The Sages* (Jerusalem, 1979) 598.

³⁵⁸ T. FRYMER-KENSKY, "Moses and the Cults: The Question of Religious Leadership," *Judaism* 34/4 (1985) 445-448.

for that reason, Aaron and Hur supported his hand (Exod 17:9-12). In all these episodes, Moses is led by God, but the people perceived Moses as a leader, a saviour, a judge, because he has direct access to God. The people did not hear the voice of God; the people instructed Moses to report what God said (Exod 20:16). Moses is a multitasker because he is able to be a judge, a leader, a saviour but especially a man of God. It is interesting to note that the people look to Moses as a saviour, although the people are aware that he depends from God. Moses has the talent not to be proud, but he remains submitted to God.

5.2.3. Some aspects of Elijah in Mishna and Tosefta

5.2.3.1. Tosefta Soṭah 12:5

עד שלא נגנז אליהו היתה רוח הקדש מרבה בישראל שנ ויאמר אליהו אל אלישע שב נא פה כי ה שלחני בית אל מהו אומ ויצאו ויצאו בני הניאי אש בבית אל אל אלישע וגו מהו אומר ויגשו בני הנביאים אשר ביריחו וגו צי ה שלחני הירדנה מהו אומר וחמשים איש מבני הנביאים הלכו ויעמדו מנגד מר וחנו עמו על הירדן. יכול מפני שהן מועטי תלמוד לומר וחמשי איש יכול מפני שהן קטני תלמוד לומר ויאמרו אליו הודעת הידעת כי היום ה לוקח את אדוניך אדונינו לא אמרו אלא אדוניך מלמד שכולם חבריו של אליהו היו והיו שקולי כנג אליהו. ומניין שנסתלקה מהן רוח הקדש שנ ויאמרו אליו הנה נא יש את עבדיך המשה אנשים בני חיל וגו. איפש לבני אדם אמש אומרים הידעת כי היום ה לוקח את אדניך ועכשיו אומרים ילכו ויבקשו את אדניך אלא מלמד שנתסלקה מהן רוח הקדש ויפצרו בו עד בוש ויאמר שלחו מה תלמוד לומר עד בוש מלמד שהיה בוש מהם דבר אחר עד בוש מה תלמוד לומר עד בוש כל מה שנתבייש מהם כדי שלא יאמרו אינו רוצה להקביל פני רבו.

Until Elijah was hidden, the Holy Spirit filled Israel, as it is said: Elijah said to Elisha: Now your mouth Lord will send me to Beth El. What did it say? Came out the sons of the prophets from Beth El and said to Elisha. The sons of the prophets that were in Jericho approached him because the Lord sent me away to the Jordan. What did it say? Fifty men of the sons of the prophets went and stood in front of us with him on the Jordan. It is possible that they were in front me few (in number)? Scripture says: fifty men. It is possible in front me that they were few (in number)? Scripture says: they said to him: do you know that today he belongs to the Lord? Lord will take it with him, your master from us. They did not say “our master” but “your master,” teaching wisdom their friends that were as weight as Elijah. Now who did say that ascended from them the Holy Spirit? Because it is said: Lo there are fifty men with your servant. It is possible to the sons of men that last night they said: we knew the day in which the Lord will take your master. Now he said: they go looking for your master. But Scripture said: ascended from them the Holy Spirit. He (Elisha) pressed until he was ashamed, he said: send away. Why does the Scripture say until he was ashamed? It teaches that he was ashamed by them. The matter after being ashamed, what did it teach to say ashamed? What was enough to shame him from them? They not said that he (Elisha) not belongs to his master.

In this pericope the Sages discuss Elijah and his ascent into heaven. This tale is in four steps and at the beginning it is specified that the Holy Spirit was commonplace in Israel. Elijah informs Elisha that the Lord will send him to Beth El, but Elisha went with him (2 Kgs 2:1-3). The sons of the prophets who were in Beth El, came out to Elisha to tell him about his master; but Elijah says to

Elisha: “Now, stay here because the Lord sent me to Jericho”. Elisha went with him (2 Kgs 2:4). Then, the sons of the prophets that were in Jericho to tell Elisha about his master, but Elijah says to him “Now stay here because the Lord has sent me to the Jordan”. Elisha went with him (2 Kgs 2:6). Then fifty men of the sons of the prophets went and stood at the Jordan at a distance from Elijah and Elisha and told the latter about his master. According to the Sages, they said “your master” and not “our master” because all of them were colleagues of Elijah and they were just as weighty as Elijah. When those fifty men saw that Elijah had departed, they asked to Elisha to go to seek his master (2 Kgs 2:16). Elisha refused because the Holy Spirit had departed from them. Elijah ascends to Heaven and it is an extraordinary event that is not understood by the sons of the Prophets. Elijah does not die, he lives, only the Holy Spirit allows them to perceive this significance. However, the tosafist uses the expression “your master” rather than “our master” to indicate that the Sages were just as important as Elijah. But Elijah surpasses them.

5.2.3.2. Mishna Soṭah 9:15	5.2.3.3. Tosefta Soṭah 13:2
<p>ר פינחס בן יאיר או דריזות מביאה לידי נקיות נקיות לידי [פישות פרישות לידי] טהרה תהרה לידי קדשה וקדושה לידי ענווה ענוה לידי יראות חטא [יראות חטא] חסידות חסידות לידי רוח הקודש רוח הקודש לידי תחיית המיתים תחיית מיתים באה לידי אליהו זצור לטוב.</p> <p>R. Phineas b. Jair said: the strength comes from the control of cleanliness, cleanliness leads to abstinence, abstinence leads to purity, purity leads to holiness and holiness leads to humility. Humility leads to the fear of sin, fear of sin leads to piety, piety leads to the Holy Spirit, Holy Spirit leads to the resurrection of the dead and the resurrection of the dead come from Elijah remembered good.</p>	<p>משחרב בית המקדש בטלה מלוכה מבית דוד ובטלו אורים ותומים ופסקו ערי מגרש שנאמר ויאמר התרשתא להם אשר לא יאכלו מקדש הקדשים עד עמוד הכהן לאורים ותומים כאדם שאומר לחברו עד שיחיו מתים עד שיבא אליהו.</p> <p>When the Temple was destroyed ceased (activity), and the kingdom of the house of David ended. Urim and Thummim were interrupted, cities (became) pasture as it is said: The authority told them that they should not eat most holy food standing, until a priest (to consult) Urim and Thummim as a man that said to his friend that dead will live, or Elijah will come.</p>

In these texts the resurrection of the dead when Elijah will come is emphasised. However, it is expressed differently because in Mishna Soṭah a ladder of perfection is delineated in which it is said that “heedfulness leads to cleanliness, the cleanliness leads to purity, and purity leads to abstinence. Abstinence leads to holiness, and holiness to humility. Humility leads to the shunning of sin, and this latter leads to saintliness. Saintliness leads to the gift of the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit leads to the resurrection of the dead that will come with Elijah the prophet”. In Tosefta, the context is different because the destruction of the Temple is evoked when also the kingship of the House of David was

demolished. The consequence is the absence of priests and of Urim and Thummim. As explained by T. Frymer-Kensky,³⁵⁹ Urim and Thummim were used by priests to take decisions through divination. A priest could not affirm divine authority without divination. Therefore, the coming of Elijah should make the use of this practice possible. The coming of Elijah implies the resurrection of the dead that reveals itself according to a ladder of perfection, but also Elijah will bring the Presence of God to allow divination.

5.2.3.4. Mishna Eduyyot 8:7	5.2.3.5. Tosefta Eduyyot 3:4
<p>אמ ר יהושע מקובל אני מרבן יוחנן בן זכיי ששמע מרבו ורבו מרבו הלכה למשה מסיני שאין אליהו בא לטמא לרחק ולקרב אלא לרחק את המקורבין בזרוע ולקרב את המרוחקין בזרוע [ולקרב את המרוחקין בזרוע] משפחת בית צריפה היתה בעבר הירדן וריחקה בין ציון בזרוע ועוד אחרת היתה שם וקרבה בין ציון בזרוע כגון אלו אליהו בא לטמא ולטהר לרחק ולקרב ר יהודה אומ לקרב אבל לא לרחק ר שמעון אומ להשוות את המחלקות וחכמ אומ לא לרחק(ו)ק ולא לקרב אלא לעשות שלום בעולם שנ הנה אנכי שולח לכם את אליהו(ו) הנביא. וגו והשיב לב אבות על בנים ולב בנים על אבותם.</p> <p>R. Joshua said: I received by Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai that heard by his teacher and his teacher from his teacher the halakha of Moses on the Sinai, that Elijah will not come for (declare) the impure and pure, (to remove who is) far and (bring) nigh, but to bring far who is nigh with arm (violence) and to bring nigh who is far with arm (violence). The family of Beth Tsaripha was near the Jordan and Ben Zion brought it far with arm (violence). Still, another (family) was there, and Ben Zion brought it nigh with arm (violence). For example, Elijah will come to (declare) impure (those who) is pure and who is far to bring nigh. R. Jehuda said: to bring near but not (remove) who is far. R. Simeon said: to be like a portion. The Sages said: neither to bring far, nor to come nigh, but to make peace with world, as it is said: Lo, I will send Elijah the prophet, and he will turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to the fathers.</p>	<p>משפחת בית צריפה היתה בעבר הירדן וריחקה בין ציון בזרוע ועוד אחרת היתה וקרבה בין ציון בזרוע ולא רצו חכמים לגלותם אבל מוסרין אותן לבניהן ולתלמידיהן פעם אחת בשבוע כגון אלו אליהו בא לטמא ולטהר לרחק ולקרב רבי אומר לקרב אבל לא לרחק ר יהוד אומר חלוף הדברים ר חנייה בן עדו או הרי הוא אומר ויצא בן אשה ישראלי וגומר והלא דברים קל וחומר מה משה רבינו לא רצה לגלו אב הממזרין עד שנתגלו בעצמן אליהו תלמידו של משה על אחת וכמה כמה של עד שיתגלו מעצמן מי שיש לו תלמידי קורין אותו ר נשתכחו תלמידי קורי אותו רבן נשתכחו אלו ואלו קורין אותו בשמו.</p> <p>The family of Beth Tsaripha was in Trans-Jordan and it was sent away from Ben Zion with arm (violence). Again, another (family) was there and Ben Zion (sent away) with arm. The Sages did not want reveal (who was this family). However they delivered (their identity) to their sons and their disciples once every seven years. (These families) that Elijah will come to declare clean and unclean, to send away or draw near. R. Meir said: to draw near and not to send away. R. Yehuda said: Matters are just the opposite. R. Hanania b. Addai said: Behold he said. To bring out the son of Israelites woman (whose father was an Egyptian), went out (among the people). This matter dishonored. So, Moses our father, pleased the exiled father of <i>mamzerim</i> until they themselves reveal (who they were). Elijah the disciple of Moses, all the more so would not account them until they reveal themselves who they were. He who has disciples they call rabbi. When his disciples are praised, they call him Rabban. When these and those (have been praised) they call him by his name.</p>

³⁵⁹ T. FRYMER-KENSKY, "Moses and the Cults: The Question of Religious Leadership," *Judaism* 34/4 (1985) 452.

Both texts deal with the case in which a family that was in the land beyond the Jordan, was removed afar by force, and another family that was there was brought nigh by force. However, in the Mishna the Sages discuss that when Elijah comes, he will bring nigh who is afar and vice versa. Thus, other Sages opine that Elijah will come to bring peace in the world as affirmed in the Scripture:

23 והנה אנכי שלח לכם את אליה הנביא לפני בוא יום יהיה הגדול והנורא²⁴ והשיב לב־אבות על־בנים ולב בנים על־אבותם פן־אבוא והכיתי את־הארץ הרם.

“Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he will turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to the fathers. Lest I’ll come and strike the Land with destruction”, (Mal 3:23-24).

In Tosefta the point of interest is different because even though Elijah is mentioned as one who will bring change, Moses is also mentioned when in the Scripture is written:

10 ויצא בן־אשר ישראלית והוא בן־איש מצרי בתוך בני ישראל וינצו במחנה בן הישראלית ואיש הישראלי.¹¹ ויקב בן־האשה הישראלית את־השם ויקלל ויביאו אתו אל־משה ושם אמו שלמית בת־דברי למטה־דן.¹² ויניחהו במשמר לפרש להם על־פי יהוה.¹³ וידבר יהוה אל־משה לאמר.¹⁴ הוצא את־המפלל אל־מחוץ למחנה וסמכו כל־השמעים את־ידיהם על־ראשו ורגמו אתו כל־העדה

“The son of an Israelite woman, he who had an Egyptian father, he went out among the children of Israel. In the camp, the son of Israelite woman fought (against) a man of Israel. The son of the Israelite woman blasphemed the Name. They brought him to Moses. (His mother’s name was Shelomith the daughter of Dibri, of the tribe of Dan). Then they put him in custody, to declare (a decision) from the mouth of the Lord. And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, “Take the blasphemer and (put him) outside the camp”, (Lev 24:10-14).

The Sages assert that if Moses who is master of Elijah decided not to reveal the name of *mamzerim*, more so Elijah who was a disciple of Moses, that waited that these *mamzerim* showed who they were. However, E.E. Urbach³⁶⁰ argues that for R. Johanan b. Zakkai, Elijah will come to put order about clean and unclean as well as between those families that were removed far or nigh. R. Johanan b. Zakkai interpreted Malachi according to his point of view. Instead, the coming of Elijah will be connect to an era of peace, before the coming of the Messiah. The problem is linked to the Torah that was present in Israel to the time of the Sanhedrin, but when this latter was abolished and the Schools of Hillel and Shammai increased, the disputes and two Torah were formed: one in writing and the other in oral form. An interesting consideration is brought into being, because even though Elijah will come to reveal what was hidden, he is subject to Moses. Everything Moses unrevealed, as the name

³⁶⁰ E.E. URBACH, *The Sages* (Jerusalem, 1979) 298-299.

of *mamzerim*, will remain so because Elijah is a disciple of Moses. This role of Elijah is accentuated but it is secondary to that of Moses.

5.2.4. Moses and Elijah as multivalent figures in Mishna and Tosefta

In Mishna and Tosefta there are few stories about Moses and Elijah, in fact the stories will increase in Talmudim. Some stories will be reworked in the Talmudim and it will be possible to note the development in time and according to the schools of thought.

However, Moses in Mishna and Tosefta is delineated as a virtuous man that conducts people to the virtues (*m. 'Abot* 5:18). Moses, par excellence, is the person whom God chooses to reveal His word. Moses is at the head of long transmission chain of the Oral and Written Torah (*m. 'Abot* 1:1). Moses, on the Sinai met the Lord of mercy, pity and faithfulness (*m. Yoma* 3:8; *t. Kip.* 2:1).

Moses is the only one that takes the bones of Joseph and buries him near his fathers. No one will bury Joseph, because only Moses is greater than Joseph. In fact, Moses will be buried by the Lord (*m. Soṭah* 1:10; *t. Soṭah* 4:7). Also Elijah is a prominent figure in Mishna and Tosefta, but he has dissimilar roles, because Elijah is especially named about the end of times. Only one pericope speaks about Elijah before his departures from the earth. It tells that when Elijah had to leave, the Holy Spirit was in Israel and the sons of the prophets tried to comfort Elisha, but only Elisha was able to recognize that his master had left for heaven. They did not understand why the Holy Spirit had departed from them (*t. Soṭah* 12:5). After this tale, Elijah is named about the resurrection of the dead, and his coming before the end of times (*m. Soṭah* 9:15; *t. Soṭah* 13:2). Elijah will not return to change or modify what happened, but he will come to bring peace and justice for the coming of the Messiah (*m. 'Ed.* 8:7; *t. 'Ed.* 3:4).

5.3. Moses and Elijah in the Palestinian/Yerushalmi Talmud

5.3.1. Introduction

The Palestinian Talmud³⁶¹ has its final edition around 400 C.E., and it is an extension of the Mishna linked to tannaitic time. Both Palestinian and Babylonian talmudim begin their development, but the Babylonian Talmud will have its final edition later. A. Goldberg³⁶² asserts that the Palestinian Talmud follows slavishly the Tosefta, and it may be considered an extension of the Tosefta as this latter is an extension of the Mishna. Indeed, often talmudic questions are solved with application to the Tosefta. The Palestinian Talmud is an important historical and also liturgical source. However its structure is based on mishnaic composition thus there are only thirty-nine tractates against sixty-three of the Mishna.

G. Stemberger³⁶³ affirms that in the Palestinian Talmud it is possible to find many repetitions of long sections. Moreover, contradictions are possible in the same sugya,³⁶⁴ because it seems that the editor put them side by side even though they were divergent and contradictory.

The Palestinian Talmud has more concise sugyot than the Babylonian Talmud, however according to A. Goldberg,³⁶⁵ every sugya reflects the contribution of several generations. This latter assertion is accredited from interchange among the Sages of the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmud schools. Because there are common sources in both talmudim even though they have not the same linguistic shape. Some non-Hebrew parts are present, in fact in the Palestinian Talmud the Western Aramaic dialect and also Greek are employed, while in Babylonian Western Aramaic and Persian are present. Scholars comment that the Sages travelled from Palestine and Babylon and produced teachings that are present in both academies. Moreover, the Palestinian Talmud was written in more schools of the Palestine such as Tiberias and Sepphoris in amoraic time, and Lydda and Caesarea in tannaitic time.

³⁶¹ *The Jerusalem Talmud*, ed., transl., and commentary by Heinrich W. Guggenheimer (Berlin, 2010).

³⁶² A. GOLDBERG, "The Palestinian Talmud," in S. SAFRAI –Z. SCHWART – P.J. TOMSON, ed., *The Literature of the Sages, Part 2: Midrash & Targum, Liturgy, Poetry, Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science and the Languages of Rabbinic Literature* (Philadelphia, 1987) 311.

³⁶³ G. STEMBERGER, *Introduzione Al Talmud e Al Midrash* (Roma, 1995) 235, 241.

³⁶⁴ Sugya is an Aramaic term that corresponds to the Hebrew word "halakha." Sugya marks the pace of discussion or concludes discussion.

³⁶⁵ A. GOLDBERG, "The Palestinian Talmud," in S. SAFRAI –Z. SCHWART – P.J. TOMSON, ed., *The Literature of the Sages, Part 2: Midrash & Targum, Liturgy, Poetry, Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science and the Languages of Rabbinic Literature* (Philadelphia, 1987) 308.

As it will be possible to note, the Palestinian Talmud is more concise than the Babylonian Talmud, thus some tales present in Mishna and Tosefta, will be discussed in the Palestinian Talmud and then in the Babylonian Talmud. It will be likely to see an evolution of the discussion.

Concerning Mishna and Tosefta, in the Palestinian Talmud the figure of Moses and Elijah are more emphasized, and there are more variants. Effectively Moses' leadership is stressed because the Lord gives him strength before the Pharaoh (*y. Ber.* 9:1); the voice of Moses is compared to fine dust so that the people can hear Moses (*y. Pesah* 5:5); the episode of Golden Calf is more articulated than of the previous Mishna and Tosefta. Moreover, Moses is also stressed as a High Priest even though he was never declared as a priest; however, he officed as a priest during the priestly preparation of Aaron and his sons. Moses will be descendent from Levites and Aaron will be of priestly lineage. Yet, the Lord will have a special relationship with Moses (*y. Yoma* 1:1). Even when the Sages discuss about Moses and the non-circumcision of his son, the Sages always try to justify Moses and his forgetfulness (*y. Ned.* 3:11). Moses performs miracles, in the desert with the oil of anointing. There was little oil in the Tent, but Moses is able to anoint Aaron and his sons for seven days, and also the vessels and candelabras, and the oil was for all generations (*y. Soṭah* 8:1).

The life of Moses is also a model for teachers and students, in fact as Nadab and Abihu operated without the presence of Moses and they were devoured by fire, so also every student before his teacher, because the teacher is the image of God (*y. Šeb.* 6:1). Likewise, when Moses entered or left the Tent of Meeting and the people stood up until his passage, so a student should before his teacher (*y. Bik.* 3:3).

Like Moses, also Elijah is most present in the Palestinian Talmud. Elijah performs many tasks, he answers the questions of the Sages, because he is able to overcome the human mind. He also explains to the Sages the meaning of natural catastrophes and for what reason God permits them (*y. Ber.* 9:2). Elijah solves halakhic problems among the Sages (*y. Ber.* 1:1); he performs miracles to reconcile Sages among themselves (*y. Kil.* 9:4-6).

5.3.2. Some aspects of Moses in the Palestinian Talmud

5.3.2.1. Berakoth 9:1

אבל אקדוש ברוך הוא הציל משה מחרב פרעה. אמר רבי ינאי כתיב ויברח משה פרעה. ואפשר לבשר ודם לבוח מן המלכות. אלא בשעה שתפס פרעה את משה חייבו לחתיז את ראשו וקהת החרב מעל צורו של משה ונשברה. הדא הוא דכתיב צוארך כמגדל השן. זה צוארו של משה. רבי אמר רבי אביתר ולא עוד אלא שנתן החרב מעל צוארו של משה על צוארו של קוצנטר והרגתו. הדא הוא דכתיב ויצילני מחרב פרעה. לי הציל וקוסנטר נהרג. רבי ברכיה קרא עליו כופר

לצדיק רשע. רבי אבון קרא עליו צדיק מצרה נחלע ויבא רשע תחתיו. תני בר קפרא מלאך ירד ונדמה להן כדמות משה ותפסו את המלאך וברח משה. אמר רבי יהושע בן לוי בשעה שברח משה מפני פרעה נעשו כל־אוכלוסין שלו אילמין ומהן חרשין ומהן סומין. אמר לאילמין היכן הוא משה ולא היו מדברים. אמר לחרשים ולא היו שומעין. אמר לסומין ולא היו רואין. הוא שהקדוש ברוך הוא אמר לו למשה מי שם פה לאדם או מי ישום אלם. תמן קמת לך והכא לית אנא קאים. ההוא דכתיב מי כיי אלהינו בכל־קראינו אליו

But the Holy Blessed be He freed Moses from the sword of the Pharaoh. Rabbi Yannai said: It is written: Moses fled from before Pharaoh. It is possible for flesh and blood to flee from the kingdom? But when the Pharaoh caught Moses because he was guilty, he (Pharaoh) decided to behead Moses. The sword was to cut down the neck of Moses and break it. Because it is written: the neck of him (Moses) is like a splendid ivory. This is the neck of Moses.

Rabbi Eviatar said: And not only, but the sword that had to put on the neck of Moses, was put on the neck of his inquisitor, and killed him. That is what written: He saved me from the sword of the Pharaoh. He saved me and the inquisitor was killed. Rabbi Berekhiah proclaimed upon him: The evil is ransom of the righteous. Rabbi Abun proclaimed upon him: righteous will be taken from distress and the evil will be submitted to him. Bar Kappara taught: the angel came down, he was like them in his features, he was like Moses. They caught the angel and Moses fled. Rabbi Joshua ben Levi said: Since Moses fled from the Pharaoh, all the soldiers became dumb, deaf and blind. The dumb said: Where is Moses? And they did not speak. The deaf asked and they did not hear. The blind asked and they did not see. This is that of the Holy Blessed He be said to Moses: From where the mouth of man and who makes dumb? Please confirm you. This is what is written: Who is like the Eternal, our God, that we call Him.

The strength of Moses is emphasized in this baraita. But he is powerful in name of the Lord who delivered Moses from the sword of the Pharaoh (Exod 18:4). It is interesting the imagination of the Sages about the sword, which was used to decapitate Moses, because it bounced off the neck of Moses and broke. According to E.E. Urbach³⁶⁶ the might of God is stressed in this tale, He who rules over the earth and over the sea, but especially over men and over the Pharaoh. The Sages often in their writings put in parallel the might of God against powerful men. Bar Qappara opines that an Angel took the appearance of Moses and the Egyptians arrested the angel and Moses escaped. However, after the fight of Moses, the Jewish people became deaf, dumb or blind and for these reasons, people cannot answer to the Pharaoh. Again once, the Lord shows His might, because only Him may make deaf dumb or blind men. As well as God staying with Moses when he fled the Pharaoh, likewise He will be with Moses when he brings the plagues on Egypt.

5.3.2.2. Pesahim 5:5

רבי יעקב בר אחא בשם רבי יסא. ניתן כח בקולו של משה והיה קולו מהלך בכל־ארץ מצרים מ יום. ומה היה אומר. ממקום פלוני עד מקום פלוני כת אחת. וממקום פלוני עד מקום פלוני כת אחת. ואל תתמה. ומה אם אבק שאין דרכו להלך את מר

³⁶⁶ E.E. URBACH, *The Sages* (Jerusalem, 1987) 80.

והיה לאבק בכל־ארץ מצרים. קול שדרכו להלך לא כל־שכן. אמר רבי לוי. כשם שניתן כח בקולו שלמשה כך ניתן כח בקולו שלפרעה. [והיה קולו מהלך בכל־ארץ מצרים מהלך ארבעים יום]. ומה היה אומר. קומו צאו מתוך עמי. לשעבר הייתם עבדי פרעה. מיכן והילך אתם עבדי יי. באותה שעה היו אומרים הללויה הללו עבדי יי. ולא עבדי פרעה.

Rabbi Yacob bar Aḥa from the mouth of Rabbi Yasa. Power was given to the voice of Moses and his voice was travelling in all the land of Egypt. And what did he say? From the place A to place B, part of some; from place C to place D part of some. Do not be astonished. And where, If the dust has no way? The dust was in all the land of Egypt. The voice that travels not so much more? Rabbi Levi said: Just as was given power to the voice of Moses, it was given voice to the Pharaoh [his voice (pharaoh) was travelling for all the land of Egypt, and it travelled forty days]. What did he say? Get up, leave from the midst of my people. You were servants of the Pharaoh, now you are servants to Me, the Eternal. They were saying: Hallelujah, praise servants of the Lord and not servants of the Pharaoh.

In this tale a beautiful image about the people of Israel is portrait for the Passover offering, the people were divided in three groups as it is said in Exodus 12:6. Indeed there were an assembly, a congregation and Israel. The shofar was played, and the priests were with basins of silver and gold in their hands. They held them in their hands because if the basins had fallen the blood of the Passover sacrifice would have congealed. The Sages wonder how it could be possible that the voice of Moses reached all groups in the whole Land of Egypt. According to the Sages, Moses had a powerful voice that travelled throughout the Land of Egypt for a distance of forty-days journey. The Sages compare the voice of Moses with the fine dust that will run all over the Land of Egypt (Exod 9:9). However, also the voice of the Pharaoh will be powerful because he will order the people of Israel to go away from the Land of Egypt to worship the Lord (Exod 12:31). The Israelites praised the Lord saying הללו יהוה “Hallelujah. Give praise, O servants of the Lord”, (Ps 113). In this tale the might of God is also stressed who gives Moses and the Pharaoh the same power of voice so that the Israelites could hear the commands of Moses and the order of the Pharaoh. The Lord is a shield for Moses so that he can lead the people to freedom. The voice of the Pharaoh is like a fine dust, like that of Moses, so the people can escape from Egypt.

5.3.2.3. Ta'anit 4:6

ובארבעים יום של מרגלים. וישובו מתור האעץ מקץ ארבעים יום וילכו ויבואו אל־משה ואל־אֶהרן וגו. אתון אשכחין עסקין בהילכות חלה וערלה. אמרו להן. לארץ אין אתם נכנסין ואתם עסקין בהילכות חלה וערלה. מיד ותשא כל־העדה ויתנו את־קולם ויבכו העם בלילה הוא. אמר להן. אתם בכיתם לפני בכייה שלתפלות חיי. עתידין אתם לבכות בכייה שלממש. בכה תבכה בלילה. תני רבי שמעון בן יוחי. כתוב וישמע משה את־העם בוכה למשפחותיו וגו. על שש עריות שאסר להן משה.

אמר לון. אפילו כן מה חמיתון. אמרון ליה. ארץ אוכלת יושביה היא. כל־קיריאו דהווינו עלין תמן הוינו משכחין מתין. אמר להן הקדוש ברוך הוא. בטובה שעשיתי לכם אמרתם ארץ אוכלת יושביה היא. כל־קרייה דהוון עלין הוה טב קרתא מיית. עד דהוון מיטפלין ביה הוון מייללין קרתא ונפקין לון ובר נש לא ידע נהון. ולא עוד אלא דאמרתון ונהי בעינינו כחגבים וכן

היינו בעיניהם ידעין הוינא עבד לכוּן באפיהוּן. אמר רבי שמעון בן לקיש. דיברו [דברים] כלפי למעלן. כי־חזק הוא ממנו אמרו כביכול אפילו לא יכיל להון. רבי לוי בשם רבי כמא בר חנינה. לקול המולה גדולה. לקול (המילה) [המולה] הגדולה שאמרתם. הצית אש עלה ורעו דליותין.

Forty days that spied. They explored the Land and they came to the end of 40 days. They walked and came to Moses and Aaron. They forgot (Moses and Aaron) and were occupied to the laws for the ḥallah and orlah. They said to them: The Land in which you are not going to enter, and you studying the laws for ḥallah and orlah? Immediately all the congregation left and raised their voice: the people cried in that night. He (God) said to them: You uselessly cried before Me. By My life are you ready to cry and really cry? Crying she will cry in the night. Rabbi Simeon ben Yoḥai said: It is written: Moses heard the people crying. End. About six prohibited nudities which Moses forbade. He (Moses to the scouts) said to them: Even now, what did you see? They said him: The Land devoured his inhabitants. All the towns in which we are entered, we have found death. Woe to us to forget men. The Holy Blessed be Him said to them: The benefits that I gave you, you are saying: It is a Land devouring its habitants? In any town in which they entered a head of the town died. While they were occupied with him, they passed through the town and went out from it, and nobody met them. And not only this, but you said, we were our eyes as locusts, and so we were in their eyes. You knew what I made to you before their eyes. Rabbi Simeon bar Laqish said things against Heaven: because he was stronger than Him. He said: Even though He is able do nothing against them. Rabbi Levi in the name of Rabbi Ḥama bar Ḥanina: with a voice tumultuous, by the tumultuous big voice you said, He started a fire that broke the rows.

In this baraita the return of the scouts from the spying out the land at the end of forty days is accounted (Numb 13:25). When they arrived, they found Moses and Aaron that were busy to studying the laws concerning the dough offering and the status of produce prohibited in the first three years of growth, as ordered by the Lord (Numb 15:18; Lev 19:23).

These laws were important because they had to be applied only in the Land. According to this baraita, the spies had decided to not return to the Land and the Sages assert that וישמע משה את־העם בוכה בלילה “Moses heard the people crying in the night”. Moses prohibited entry in the Land because the spies had seen men of great stature. The spies compared these men to the Nephillim sons of Anak (Numb 13:28). For that reason that Land devours its inhabitants (Numb 13:32). The Sages explain that the Lord gave benefits to explorers because when they entered a town, “a head of the town died”. However, the Sages affirmed that the spies said things against Heaven asserting that the men of the Land were stronger than the Lord (Numb 13:31). Moses is a father for the Israelites, in this circumstance his paternal weakness is accentuated; the weeping of the people touches his heart and he decides not to enter into the Land.

5.3.2.4. Ta'anit 4:5

כתוב וישכן כבוד־י על־הר סיני וכסהו הענן ששת ימים ויקרא אל־משה ביום השביעי. ויעל משה. שביעי שהוא שהוא לאחר הדיברות ותחילה לארבעים. אמר להן משה. ארבעין יומין אנא מיעבד בטורא. כיון שהגיע יום ארבעים ולא בא. מיד וירא העם כי־בוש משה לרדת מן־ההר. וכיון שהגיע שש שעות ולא בא. מיד ויקהל העם על־אהרן ויאמרו אליו קום עשה־לנו אלהים אשר ילכו לפנינו וגו'. ויאמר יי אל־משה לך־רד כי שחת עמד וגו'. וישמע יהושע את־קול העם ברעה ויאמר אל־משה קול מלחמה במחנה. אמר משה אדם שהוא עתיד להנהיג שררה על ששים ריבוא אינו יודע להבחין בין קול לקול. ויאמר אין קול ענות גבורה ואין קול ענות חלושה קול ענות אנכי שומע אמר רבי יסא. קול קילוס עבודה זרה אנכי שומע. רבי יודן בשם רבי יסא. אין כל־דור ודור שאין בו אונקי אחת מחטיו שלעגל. ויהי כאשר קרב אל־המחנה וירא את־העגל ומחולות. רבי חלקיה בשם רבי אחא. מיכן שלא יהא אדם דן (עומדות) [אומדות]. דרש משה מקל החומר. מה אם פסח שהיא מצוא יחידית נאמר בו וכל־ערל לא־יאכל בו. התורה שכל־המצוות כלולות בה אל לחת כמה וכמה. ויחר־אף משה וישלך מידיו את־הלוחות וישבר אותם תחת ההר תני רבי ישמעאל. הקדוש ברוך הוא אמר לו ששברם. [שנאמר] ואכתב על־הלוחות את־הדברים אשר היו על־הלוחות הראשנים אשר שיברת. אמר לו. יפה עשית ששיברת. רבי שמואל בר נחמן בשם רבי יונתן. הלוחות היה אורכן ששה טפחים ורחבן שלשה. והיה משה תפוש בטפחים והקדוש ברוך הוא בטפחים יטפחים ריוח באמצע. כיון שעשו ישראל אותו מעשה ביקש הקדוש ברוך הוא לחוטפן מידו שלמשה. וגברה ידו שלמשה וחטפן ממנו. הוא שהכתוב משבחו בסוף ואומר ולכל היד החזקה. ייא שלמא על ידא דגברת על מינא. רבי יוחנן בשם רבי יוסה בר אביי. [הלוחות] היו מבקשין לפרוח והיה משה תופשן. [דכתיב] ואתפוש בשני הלוחות. תני בשם רבי נחמיה. הכתב עצמו פרה. רבי עזרה בשם רבי יהודה בירבי סימון. אלוהות היו משאוי ארבעים סאה והכתב היה סובלן. כיון שפרח הכתב כבדו על ידי שלמשה ונפלו ונשתברו.

It is written: The glory of the Eternal dwelt on Mount Sinai and the cloud covered it for six days. He called Moses on the seventh day. Moses ascended. The seventh after the Ten Words, the start of Forty. Moses said to them: When the fortieth day came, he (Moses) did not come and the people saw that Moses was slow to go down to the Mountain. When noontime came, and they saw that Moses did not come, they recognized Aaron and they gathered in assembly. They said to Aaron: Here, get up and make to us gods which walking before us. End. The Eternal said to Moses: Go down because your people is corrupted. End. Joshua heard the voice of the people and the evil; he said to Moses: it is a voice of war in the camp. Moses said: The man which you wait to rule, he will rule over 600.000 and he did not know to distinguish between voice and voice. He said: there is not voice of affliction and triumph; neither voice of affliction nor weakness; I heard voice of affliction. Rabbi Yosa said: I heard voice of derision from the servant of worship scattered. Rabbi Yudan in the name of Rabbi Yosa: There is not generation and generation in which there is no complaint before the sin of the Calf. It was when he approached at the camp, and he saw the Calf and the round-dances. Rabbi Hilchia in the name of Rabbi Aḥa: from there that a person was not argued over the causes. Moses tried an argument. Because for the mitzvot of Pesah, it is said that all the no uncircumcised males all the community may eat from it. The Torah in which all mitzvot are contained not so much more? Moses threw the tablets from his hands and he broke them at the foot of the Mountain. It is stated: Rabbi Ismael: the Holy Blessed be His said to him [as it is stated] You broke and I will write the words that were in the first tablets that you broke. He said to him: You did well that you broke. Rabbi Samuel bar Nahman in the name of Rabbi Jonathan: The tablets were (full of light) long six handbreadth and three wides. Moses sized two handbreadth and the Holy Blessed be His two handbreadth and two handbreadth of space between them. When Israel sinned, the Holy Blessed be His cut the tables for the hands of Moses, and the hands of Moses were superiors and cut for Him. It is written to glorify and at the end to say that all the strong hand. Peace on the hand that is superior of mine. Rabbi Joḥanan in the name of Rabbi Yose bar Abbai [the tablets] wanted to break and Moses take hold it [as it is stated] I seized the two tablets. It is stated in the name of Rabbi Neḥemia, the writing itself broke. Rabbi Ezra in the name of Rabbi Yehuda ben Rabbi Simon: the tablets were lift up for forty

seah and the writing was carrying them. When the writing broke, they were heavy for the hands of Moses and they fell and broke.

Here, we find the episode in which Moses went up to the Sinai and the people build a Golden Calf. The text is more articulated, at the beginning it explains that the Torah was given the seventh day when God called Moses onto the Mountain. The count of forty days begins on that day. When the fortieth day came, the people were waiting for Moses, but he delayed. People asked Aaron to make a god that goes before them (Exod 32:1). The Lord said to Moses that his people were corrupted (Exod 32:7). Joshua was with Moses and he thought that the noises that he heard were like war cries. But Moses replied that he was not able to identify one noise from another (Exod 32:18). The anger of Moses became strong, and he broke the tables (Exod 32:19). The Sages make a parallel with this tale and the law in which for Passover all males must be circumcised. In fact, for Passover if there is a stranger and he is not circumcised, he cannot participate with Jewish people (Exod 12:48), all the more so the Israelites that were unworthy to receive the Torah. So, when he saw the people who were dancing before the golden calf, Moses broke the tables of the Torah. In rabbinic tradition the episode of the Golden Calf is the sin par excellence as asserted by L. Smolar and M. Aberbach, because this sin is a black page of the Biblical history of Israel.³⁶⁷ This episode is tied to more strange situations because Moses is angry with Joshua who is not able to distinguish the sound of the people. It was not a good sound, it was a sound of affliction and misery, it was the sound of the sin, and Joshua was confused. Moses was angry with Aaron, who later will become the first High Priest of Israel. Then Moses was angry with the Israelites that he compared as a bride become harlot, in fact Moses made the Israelites drink and eat in which the powder of the calf was scattered (Exod 32:20). According to L. Smolar and M. Aberbach³⁶⁸ the tale of the Golden Calf is inserted in a solemn moment of Israel that received the Torah, and immediately falls into sin. Moreover they attribute to this episode the *peregrinatio* of the people in the desert for forty years.

In this baraita the Sages continue their discussion on Moses and the broken tables, and Rabbi Ismael asserted that the Holy One agreed with Moses because in Deuteronomy 10:2 when the Lord said ... ואכתב על־הלוח את־הדבֿרים אשר... "I will write on the tablets the words that ...". In this context, for the Rabbi, the word אשר is not a relative pronoun, but the root of happiness. It means that the Lord will write words of happiness. This tale could be tied to the previous one because Moses is disappointed by the people. If in the previous baraita he is troubled by the suffering of the people, in this text, Moses is furious and grieved for the people. After forty days of being in the presence of the Lord,

³⁶⁷ L. SMOLAR – M. ABERBACH, "The Golden Calf Episode in Postbiblical Literature," *HUCA* 39 (1968) 102.

³⁶⁸ L. SMOLAR – M. ABERBACH, "The Golden Calf Episode in Postbiblical Literature," *HUCA* 39 (1968) 104, 106.

God says to Moses that his people are corrupted. I presume that Moses through this experience recognizes that the people belong to God.

5.3.2.5. Meghillah 4:10

אי זהו מעשה עגל השיני. רבי סימון בשם רבי יהושע בן לוי. מתשובה שהשיב משה את אהרן עד כי־פרעה אהרן לשמצה בקמיהם. חנניה בר שלמיה בשם רב. מתשובה שהשיב אהרן את משה עד כי־פרעה אהרן לשמצה בקמיהם. רבי אחא בשם רבי בא. ומחא יי ית עמא על אשר עשו את־העגל אשר עשה אהרן. רבי מר עוקבן בשם רבנן דתמו. לא דומה גנאי יחיד בציבור לגנאי ציבור בציבור.

What is the second event of the Calf? Rabbi Simon in name of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi: from the answer that Moses returned to Aaron, up to when Aaron was discovered and he was derided by his opponents. Ḥanania bar Shelemia in name of Rav: from the answer that Aaron gave Moses, until he was discovered, Aaron was derided by his opponents. Rabbi Aḥa in name of Rabbi Abba: The Eternal smote the people because they made the Calf which Aaron made. Rabbi Mar Uqban in name of the rabbis there: [The shame of a single person in the community, it is not as the shame of the whole community].

The Sages discuss about the second tale of the golden calf. The first one should coincide with Exodus 32:1-20, the second one with Exodus 32:21-35. According to the Sages, the first story is generated by the guilt of the people that sin building the golden calf, instead the second story derives from the inability of Aaron to be a leader. The biblical text of golden calf (Exod 32:1-35) is a very complex tale because both God and Moses with Aaron have a dual role.

Initially God appears full of wrath and threatens the Israelites (Exod 32:10), then God וינחם יהוה "relented from the harm which He said", (Exod 32:14). Moses for his part pleads God for the people, he tries to lessen the wrath of God (Exod 32:11-13), but then ויחר־אף משה וישלך "Moses burned with anger and he cast he cast down the tablets of his hands and broke them at the foot of mountain", (Exod 32:19). Finally, Aaron is the most ambiguous person of this tale. People ask Aaron to build an *elohim* because Moses did not come down from the Mountain. Aaron favours the people and decides to take all the golden earrings of the people and to melt than and make a golden calf. Then, Aaron built an altar before it (Exod 32:1-5). When Moses asked Aaron about the circumstance, Aaron blames the people (Exod 32:22).

According to the scholars³⁶⁹ there are different explanations about this tale, but they agree on the role of Aaron. C.E. Hayes³⁷⁰ argues that the term “elohim” in plural form, implies that the gods are more than one, because the Israelites replaced Moses with Aaron and YHWH with another god. Aaron implicitly accepts this new role. Moreover, C.E. Hayes³⁷¹ affirms that when Moses asked Aaron about the facts, Moses is already aware that Aaron is guilty of not being able to lead the people.

It is important to note that C.E. Hayes³⁷² advances that in this episode, in the crucial moment of the events, Moses with his strength is capable to intercede near the Lord so the people are saved from His wrath, in the meantime, Aaron is not able to restrain the debauchery of the people.

The talmudic text points out the figure of Moses and Aaron, affirming that “the shame of a single person in the public is not comparable to the shame of the public in matters of the public.” L. Smolar and M. Aberbach³⁷³ underline that in this tale the reputation of Aaron is despised, and later commentators not considered it suitable to persist on this account. However, both Moses and Aaron had an important role in the history of Israel, but each with his own gifts. Moses is often portrayed as an intercessor before God for Israel. This role is constant in the history of Moses jointly to the people.

5.3.2.6. Yoma 1:1

אמר רבי אידי. הדא דאת אמר למצוה. אבל לציווי ויקרב משה את־אהרן ואת־בניו וירחץ אותם במים. ואחר כך ויתן עלין את־הכתנת. ואחר כך ויקרב משה את אהרן ואת בניו וילבשם כתנת. אמר רבי לעזר בירבי יוסי. פשט הוא לן שבחלוק לבן שימש משה בכהונה גדולה. אמר רבי תנחום בר יודן ותני לה. כל־שבעת ימי המילואים היה משה משמש בכהונה גדולה ולא שרת שכינה על ידיו. וכיוו שלבש אהרן בגדי כהונה גדולה ושימש שרת שכינה על ידיו. מה טעם. כי היום יי נראה אליכם. רבי יוסה בר חננה בעי. עשירית האיפה היאך קרבה. (חציים) [חצייה] קריבה או שלימה קרבה. מן מה דכתיב ויבא משה ואהרן אל־אהל מועד. [מלמד] שלא בא עמו אלא ללמדו על מעשה הקטרת. הדא אמרה. חציים קרבה. אין תימר. שלימה קרבה. ניתני. על מעשה אקטרת ועל עשירית האיפה.

Rabbi Idi said: what that you say it is a mitzvah. But as a fulfilment, Moses brought near Aaron and his sons and washed them in waters. After that, he gave him (Aaron) the tunic and then, Moses came near Aaron and his sons with spices and tunic. Rabbi Eleazar bar Rabbi Yose said: Moses officed as High Priest in white garments. Rabbi Tanḥum bar Yudan to him: All seven days of consecration, Moses officiated as High Priest but the Shekinah was not upon

³⁶⁹ See Y. HO CHUNG, *The Sin of the Calf* (New York, 2010); C.E. HAYES, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford, 2002); L.R. BAILEY, “The Golden Calf,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 42 (1971) 97-115; E. FARREL MASON, *Golden Calf Traditions in Early Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (Boston, 2018); R.W.L. MOBERLY, *At The Mountain of God* (Sheffield, 1983).

³⁷⁰ C.E. HAYES, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford, 2002) 54; L.R. BAILEY, “The Golden Calf,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 42 (1971) 100.

³⁷¹ C.E. HAYES, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford, 2002) 58; Y. HO CHUNG, *The Sin of the Calf* (New York, 2010) 43.

³⁷² C.E. HAYES, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford, 2002) 58.

³⁷³ L. SMOLAR – M. ABERBACH, “The Golden Calf Episode in Postbiblical Literature,” *HUCA* 39 (1968) 109.

it is a divine manifestation that happens the day of the priesthood of Aaron. It is a legitimation of the priestly ministry of Aaron. However, even though Aaron is High Priest, the Lord always keeps a particular confidence with Moses who praises God in private (Exod 5:22; 8:8, 25-26), and when Aaron is at Moses' side, God speaks only with Moses (Numb 2:6; 17:8-9).

5.3.2.7. Nedarim 3:11

ועל ידי שנתעצל משה במילה ביקש המלאך להורגו. ההוא דכתיב ויפגשו יי ויבקש המיתו. אמר רבי יוסי. חס ושלום לא נתעצל משה במילה אלא שהיה דן בעצמו ואומר. אם למול ולצאת סכנה היא. ואם לשהות הקדוש ברוך הוא אמר לו. לך שוב מצרימה. אלא על ידי שכתעצל בלינה קודם המילה. ההוא דכתיב ויהי בדרך במלון. אמר רבן שמעון בן גמליאל. חס ושלום. לא ביקש המלאך להרוג למשה אלא לתינוק. בוא וראה. מי קרוי חתן. משה או התינוק. אית תניי תני. משה קרוי חתן. ואית תניי תני התינוק קרוי חתן. מאן דמר. משה קרוי חתן. חתן. דמים מתבקש מידך. ומאן דמר. התינוק קרוי חתן. חתן. בדמים את עומד לי. ותקח צפורה צר ותכרות את ערלת בנה ותגע לרגליו וגו. רבי יהודה ורבי נחמיה ורבנין. חד אמר. לרגליו שלמשה. וחרנה אמר. לרהליו שלמלאך. וחרנה אמר. לרגליו שלתינוק. מן דמר. לרגליה שלמשה. הילך גזי חובך. מן דמר. לרגליו שלמלאך. הילך עבד שליחתך. מן דמר. לרגליו שלתינוק. נגעה בגוף התינוק. וירף ממנו אז אמרה חתן דמים למולות. מיכן לשתי מילות. אחת לפריעה ואחת לציצין.

Because Moses was lazy to perform circumcision, an angel sought him to kill him. It is written: The Eternal met him, and he wanted kill him. Rabbi Yose said: he forgot well-being; Moses was lazy to perform that which was his own descendant. Often circumcision and his fulfilment were dangerous for him. To wait (Moses and his son would have to wait in Midian), the Holy Blessed be He said him: Go and return in Egypt. But Moses was lazy, he left to spend night pass before circumcision. It is written: The accommodation was on the way. Rabban Simeon ben Gamliel: He sought refuge and well-being; an angel did not want to kill him, but the baby. Come and see, who is called *ḥatan* (bridegroom)? Moses or the baby? There are Tanna'im: Moses was called *ḥatan*. And there are Tanna'im: *ḥatan* is called the baby. Who says that Moses is called *ḥatan*? *Ḥatan* is the blood that was required from you. Zipporah became audacious, she took a stone and cut foreskin of the baby and touched his feet. Rabbi Yehuda and Rabbi Neḥemiah and rabbis: one said: the feet of Moses; another said: the feet of the angel; and another said: the feet of the baby. Who said the feet of Moses: I cut your obligation for you. Who said the feet of the angel: he acted as was decreed. Who said the feet of the baby: she touched the body of the baby. He was weak and then said: a blood *ḥatan* for circumcision. From here there are two circumcision: one cover and one plate.

In this pericope the Sages debate about the circumcision of the son of Moses as accounted in Exodus 4:24-25. Indeed, the opinions of the Sages are opposed because someone holds that the Lord wanted to kill Moses because he was slow to circumcise his son, but Moses waited to circumcise his son because the Holy One ordered him to go to Egypt. However according to some Sages, the angel wanted to kill Moses and not his son. There are Tanna'im that affirm that Moses was *ḥatan*,³⁷⁸ instead for others Tanna'im that appellative is refers to the son of Moses. Those who say that Moses is called

³⁷⁸ *Ḥatan* could mean to be circumcised or to become a relative of someone. In this last case the word is valid for both Moses and his son.

hatan intends that Moses is a blood bridegroom, instead those who say that his son is *hatan*, means that the child must be circumcised. When Zipporah took a flint and cut off the foreskin off the son she said to Moses: “You are a blood *hatan* for me”. The Sages affirm that there are two types of circumcisions, one for baring the gland and one for the fiber.

In this baraita, there are three crucial points of discussion: Who would want to kill who? Who is *hatan damim* (חַתָּן דָּמִים)? What is the role of Zipporah? It is possible to answer directly the first two questions because according to the talmudic text, they are linked. The Sages tried to assert that the Lord wanted to kill Moses, but Rabban Simeon ben Gamliel exclaims that it is impossible to think this! The Lord wanted to kill the son of Moses. In this point takes over the second question because according to C.B. Hays³⁷⁹ the person who “was on the way” must be the person who is attacked and called *hatan*. However, to better understand these two assertions it is necessary to explain the role of Zipporah. The Sages have different opinions about the “feet” that are mentioned, because this scene seems to be a ritual. Indeed Zipporah, touched the feet with the bloody foreskin. But whose feet are? The Sages presume that the feet were of Moses, or the baby, or the angel of the Lord. According to C.B. Hays³⁸⁰ in this context, the feet are not a euphemism of genitals as conventionally in biblical exegesis, because it is unusual to place blood there.

Instead, T.C. Vriezen³⁸¹ makes an interesting hypothesis, affirming that the blood on the feet was a blood ritual in Ancient Israelitic cult. In their cults the Israelites imagined that the Lord was sitting on the throne of Cherubim, and the Ark of the Covenant was a footstool. In Leviticus 16:14-15 sprinkling the blood on the feet of the Lord was a ritual. Again, H. Kosmala³⁸² argues that applying the blood in some part of the human body, is a ritual that today is performed by the Samaritans and Arabic people. For H. Kosmala,³⁸³ Zipporah accomplishes a sign of blood so that it was visible to the Divinity. According to J.T. Willis³⁸⁴ Zipporah circumcises her son Ghershom and then she touches the feet of Moses as a symbolic circumcision. Then, when she said: “a blood *hatan* you are for me”, she performs a priestly role. Finally, also C.B. Hays³⁸⁵ suggests a similar point of view saying that Zipporah accomplished a personal covenant with YHWH, becoming kinship of the Lord.

³⁷⁹ C.B. HAYS, “Lest Ye Perish in the Way: Ritual and Kinship in Exodus 4:24-26,” *Hebrew Studies* 48 (2007) 41.

³⁸⁰ C.B. HAYS, “Lest Ye Perish in the Way: Ritual and Kinship in Exodus 4:24-26,” *Hebrew Studies* 48 (2007) 44.

³⁸¹ T.C. VRIEZEN, “The Term Hizza: Lustration and Consecration,” *OtSt* 7 (1950) 232.

³⁸² H. KOSMALA, “The Bloody Husband,” *Vetus Testamentum* 12/1 (1962) 24.

³⁸³ H. KOSMALA, “The Bloody Husband,” *Vetus Testamentum* 12/1 (1962) 25.

³⁸⁴ J.T. WILLIS, *Yahweh and Moses in Conflict: The Role of Exodus 4:24-26 in the Book of Exodus* (Bern, 2010) 103.

³⁸⁵ C.B. HAYS, “Lest Ye Perish in the Way: Ritual and Kinship in Exodus 4:24-26,” *Hebrew Studies* 48 (2007) 54.

5.3.2.8. Soṭah 8:1

רבי יהודה בירבי אילעי אומר. שמן משחה שעשה משה במדבר מעשה ניסים נעשה בו מתחילה ועד סוף. שמתחילה לא היה בו אלא שנים עשר לוג. שנאמר ושמן זית הין. אם לסוך בו את העצים לא היה מספיק. על אחת כמה וכמה שהאור בולע והעצים בולעין והיורה בולעת. וממנו נמשחו המשכן וכל־כיליו. השולחן וכל־כיליו. המנורה וכל־כליה. ממנו נמשח אהרן ובניו כל־שבעת ימי המילואים. ממנו נמשחו כהנים גדולים ומלכים. מלך בתחילה טעון משיחה. מלך בן מלך אינו טעון משיחה. שנאמר קום משחהו כי זה הוא. זה טעון משיחה. אין בנו טעון משיחה. אבל כהן גדול בן כהן גדול אפילו עד עשרה דורות טעונין משיחה. וכולו קיים לעתיד לבוא. שנאמר שמן משחת קודש יהיה זה לדורותיכם.

Rabbi Yehuda bar Ilai said: the oil of anointing that Moses made in the desert, it was a miracle. It was (oil) made by him from start to the end. At the beginning there were only 12 log, as it is said, olives and hin. If the anointing for his was enough, after it was like light that devours woods, and it devours their and light. From it, the anointing of the Tabernacles, and all its vessels, the table and its vessels, the menorah and all its vessels. From it (oil), Aaron and his sons were anointed all seven days of fulfillment. From it (oil) were anointed High Priests and kings. When a king was born, he needed to be anointed, a son of king does not need anointing. Who said: Confirm him with anointing as with you. He needs anointing but does not his son. But a High Priest who is son of high Priest, he needs anointing until tenth generation. Everything it is prepared to conclude. It is said: Holy anointing oil was it for Me, and for all your generations.

Rabbi Yehudah bar Ilai asserts that the oil that Moses made in the desert was miraculous, because it was enough for all eventualities. Certainly, the Sages argue that much was anointed: the vessels, the table of vessels, the candelabra, Aaron and his sons for all the seven days of induction and then, all the high priests, and kings. About the latter two, the high priest, and the son of high priest need to be anointed, instead, a king needs to be anointed, but a king who is a son of king does not need anointing because it is written *משחהו כי־זה הוא* “Anoint him; for this is the one”, (1 Sam 16:12). However, this oil was for all generations.

In this baraita rabbinic text provides more details of Exodus 30:22-33. As a consequence of it is possible to give a better explanation. U. Cassuto³⁸⁶ claims that more scholars had problems to understand why the quantity of oil was lower than that of the spices. For that reason the Sages have a discussion because there were twelve log of oil that corresponds to one *hin* of oil. U. Cassuto³⁸⁷ explains that “the weight of oil corresponds to a fifth of the spices taken together”. Indeed, he continues arguing that the spices must be distilled and then put in the oil. Therefore, the oil contained only the fragrance of the spices. The Lord commands to Moses to anoint with this oil the Tabernacle, the vessels, the tables and the candelabra. After it, Moses will have to anoint for seven days, Aaron and his sons as priests. In this situation the Sages ask themselves how it is possible that there was oil. U. Cassuto³⁸⁸ affirms that the anointing was performed like a sprinkling drop.

³⁸⁶ U. CASSUTO, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Jerusalem, 1997) 397.

³⁸⁷ U. CASSUTO, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Jerusalem, 1997) 397.

³⁸⁸ U. CASSUTO, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Jerusalem, 1997) 398.

The baraita ends with the words of the Lord: “This shall be a holy anointing oil to Me throughout your generations”, (Exod 30:31); it means that the sacred oil was compounded once and when it was missing, it was cannot reproduced as said by the Lord to Moses (Exod 30:31-33).³⁸⁹ C. Houtman³⁹⁰ argues that the fragrance is defined by its composition. This latter was an order of the Lord and was a holy fragrance that marks those who belong to the Lord. It is important to note that the sense of smell plays an important role in this tales. Because through smell, the Lord expresses His presence, and the holiness of His priests. Moses performs a miracle with the oil of anointing because this oil will be used for generations, even though its quantity is less than the oil that will be used for anointing.

5.3.2.9. Hagigah 1:8

רבי חגיי בשם רבי שמואל בר נחמן. נאמרו דברים בפה ונאמרו דברים בכתב ואין אנו יודעין (אילו) [איזו] מהן חביבין. אלא מן מה דכתיב כי על־פי. הדברים האלה כרתי אתך ברית ואת־ישראל הדא אמרה. אותן שנפה חביבין. רבי יוחנן ורבי יודן בירבי שמעון. חד אמר. אם שימרת מה שבפה ושימרת מה שבכתב אני כורת אתך ברית. ואם לאו איני כורת אתך ברית. וחורנה אמר. אם שימרת מה שבפה ושימרת מה שבכתב את מקבל שכר. ואם לאו אין את מקבל שכר. אמר רבי יהושע בן לוי. עליהם ועליהם כל ככל דברים הדברים. מקרא ומשנה תלמוד הלכות ואגדה. אפילו מה שתלמיד וותיק עתיד להורות לפני רבי כבר נאמר למשה בסיני. מה סעם. יש דבר שיאמר ראה־זה חדש הוא. חבירו משיבו ואומר לו. כבר היה לעולמים אשר היו מלפנינו.

Rabbi Ḥaggai in name of Rabbi Samuel bar Naḥman have been said (either) things orally (or) things written, and which do not know which ones are preferred. But what is written? As from the mouth of these words, I concluded a covenant with you and with Israel. And it says that are preferred (the words) from the mouth. Rabbi Yoḥanan and Rabbi Yudan ben Simeon. One said: If you kept what is the word, you kept what is written and I make covenant with you. Otherwise, I do not make covenant with you. The other said: If you observe that oral (tradition) and you observe that written, you will be reward. Otherwise, you will not be reward. Rabbi Joshua ben Levi: on them and on them, all, like all the words, the words of the Scripture: Mishna, Talmud, Halakhot, and Aggadah. If a student is qualified in teaching, he will discover before his master that (everything) was said to Moses on Sinai. What is the decree? There is something that one would say: Look that, it is new! His friend would answer saying: no. already it has been forever.

The Sages discuss about the Oral and Written traditions, and which of them is the most important. In Exodus 34:27 it is written:

ויאמר יהוה אל־משה כתב־לך את־הדברים האלה כי על־פי הדברים האלה כרתי אתך ברית ואת־ישראל

³⁸⁹ J. MILGROM, *Leviticus 1-16* (New York, 1991) 554.

³⁹⁰ C. HOUTMAN, “On the Function of the Holy Incent (Exodus XXX 34-8) and the Sacred Anointing Oil (Exodus XXX 22-33),” *Vetus Testamentum* 42/4 (1992) 465.

“The Lord said to Moses: Write these words, because with these words I have made a covenant with you and Israel”. It implies that the oral traditions are preferred. However, the Sages have different opinions. Some think that if a person keeps what is maintained orally and written, the Lord will make a covenant with it, if not He will not make a covenant with it. Others believe that if a person observes all oral tradition and all that is written, he will receive a reward, otherwise not. According to Deuteronomy 9:10 it is said:

ויתן יהוה אלי את־שני לוחת האבנים כתבים באצבע אלהים ועליהם ככל־הדברים אשר דבר יהוה עמכם בהר מתוך האש ביום הקהל

“Then the Lord gave to me two tablets of stone written with the finger of God, and on them (were) all the words which the Lord had spoken to you on the mountain from the midst of the fire in the day of the assembly”. In this sentence the “words on them”, “all” and “words” indicate that they are referred to the Bible, Mishna, Talmud and Aggadah. Yet, everything a student will discover before his teacher, has been revealed to Moses on the Sinai.

An apparent equality emerges in this baraita between Oral and Written Torah, because both must be followed to conclude a covenant with the Lord and obtain a reward. Both traditions are assimilated in all that Moses received on the Sinai. B.D. Sommer³⁹¹ argues that the so-called Oral Torah consists of written documents even though etymologically it is an oral teaching. In the baraita it is explained that Moses receives on the Sinai, the whole Torah. This last expression presumes the Torah, the Mishna, Talmud and Aggadah, in other words, rabbinic literature. Moreover, B.D. Sommer argues that in the rabbinic world there are different schools of thought according to which the Oral Torah was given to Moses on the Sinai, but it is the results of scribes and Sages that were given laws and interpretations. For that purpose, some rabbinic authority adduces greater importance to the Oral Torah rather than Written Torah.

5.3.2.10. Pe'ah 2:5-6

רבי זטירא בשם רבי אלעזר אכתוב לו רובי תורת. וכי רובה של תורה נכתבה אלא מרובין הן הדברים הנדרשין מן הכתב מן הדברים הנדרשין מן הפה. וכיני. אלא כיני חביבין הן הדברים הנדרשין מן הפה מן הדברים הנדרשין מן הכתב.

רבי יודה בן פזי אומר אכתוב לו רובי תורת אלו התוכחות. אפילו כן לא כמו זר נחשבו.

אמר רבי אבין אילולי כתבתי לך רובי תורת לא כמו זר נחשבו. מה בינן לאומות. אלו מוציאין ספריהן ואלו מוציאין ספריהן. אלו מוציאין דפתריהן ואלו מוציאין דפתריהן.

רבי חגיי בשם רבי שמואל בר נחמן נאמרו דברים בפה ונאמרו דברים בכתב ואין אנו יודעין אי זה מהן חביב. אלא מן מה דכתיב כי על פי הדברים האלה כרתי אתך ברית ואת ישראל הדא אמרה אותן שבפה חביבין.

³⁹¹ B.D. SOMMER, *Revelation and Authority: Sinai in Jewish Scripture and Tradition* (New Haven, 2015) 150.

רבי יוחנן ורבי יודן בי רבי שמעון חד אמר אם שימרת מה שבפה ושימרת מה שבכתב אני כורת אתך ברית ואם לאו איני כורת אתך ברית. וחרגה אמר אם שימרת מה שבפה וקיימת מה שבכתב אתה מקבל שכר ואם אינך מקבל שכר. רבי יהושע בן לוי אמר עליהם ועליהם כל ככל דברים הדברים מקרא משנה תלמוד ואגדה. אפילו מה שתלמיד וותיק עתיד להורות לפני רבו כבר נאמר למשה בסיני.

Rabbi Zeira in name of Rabbi Eleazar: I wrote for him many of My laws, and as more laws were written, many of these words allow us to investigate about oral tradition. How much more. But how much more things investigated in the oral (tradition) are loved than those things investigated in written (tradition). Rabbi Yudah ben Pazi said: I wrote him many of My laws, and these are corrections even though now these are not like that. They were considered foreigners. Rabbi Avin said: If I wrote to you many laws, you do not have consider yourself foreign. What between us and foreigners? They produce books and those are their books. They produce interpretations and that produce their interpretations.

Rabbi Ḥaggai in name of Rabbi Samuel bar Naḥmani: there are things that have been said orally, and things that have been written. But we do not know which are favorites. But what is written? From the mouth of these words, I make covenant with you and Israel. He said that the oral tradition is preferred. Rabbi Yoḥanan and Rabbi Yudan ben Rabbi Simon. One said: If you kept what is oral (tradition) you kept what is written (tradition). I make covenant with you, and otherwise, I do not covenant with you. The other said: if you kept what is oral and you accept what is written, you will receive a reward, otherwise, you will not receive a reward.

Rabbi Joshua ben Rabbi Levi said: On them, on them, all as all words and words: Scripture, Mishna, Talmud and Aggadah. If a student is qualified in teaching, he will discover before his master that (everything) was said to Moses on Sinai.

Here it is proposed the same theme as above, but the dispute among the Sages is inserted in another context. The Sages observe that not all the practices seem to have a reason, but all of them were shown to Moses on the Sinai. However, the question is that not all the laws were given in written form, but more of them were given orally.

Therefore, which are preferable? It is written [רבי] תורתִי כמִצְוֵי נֶחֱשָׁבוּ לִי רַבּוֹ [אכתוב] אכתוב [לוי רבו] "I have written for him the great things of law", (Hos 8:12), and the Lord gave a lot of mitzvot.³⁹² The Sages consider that there is difference between them and Gentiles, because the Gentiles make things for them, separately from the Jews. To this point, the Sages debate about the Oral and Written Law and which of them is the most important. There is the same conclusion as above. In reference to Deuteronomy 9:10, the Hebrew Bible, Mishna, Talmud and Aggadah are the complete Torah.

E.E. Urbach³⁹³ asserts that the term בפה (literally "by mouth"), "Oral", tends to mean that the Torah has been proclaimed. Therefore, either Oral Torah or Written Torah, were proclaimed orally, and neither can be defined as more precious than the other. Because in Exodus 34:27 it is written על

³⁹² Leviticus 26:14-46; Deuteronomy 28:15-69.

³⁹³ E.E. URBACH, *The Sages* (Jerusalem, 1987) 305.

פה or “by the mouth of”, it can be inferred that the Oral precepts are more precious than others. So, the covenant is especially grounded in the Oral Torah. This statement of E.E. Urbach recalls the opinion of B.D. Sommer³⁹⁴ who holds that the Written Torah is a subset of Oral Torah. Because the Bible and the Tradition is not parallel; the Bible is a greater part of the Tradition, but this latter embodies living words by the students of every generation. On this topic, D.W. Halivni³⁹⁵ argues that in this baraita Moses receives the Torah from God, but in this revelation the questions of the students to their teachers are included. It means that Moses received from God all the Torah, Written and Oral. The Torah that is revealed every time that a Sage debates it.

5.3.2.11. Sanhedrin 4:2

דיני ממונות מטין כול. אמר רבי ינאי. אילו ניתנה התורה התוכה לא היתה לרגל עמידה. מה טעמא. וידבר יי אל־משה. אמר לפונו שלעולם. הודיעני היאך היא ההלכה. אמר לו. אחרי רבים להטות רבו המזכין זכו. רבו המחייבין חייבו. כדי שתהא התורה נדרשת מייט פנים טמא ומייט פנים טהור. מניין ודגלו. וכן הוא אומר אמרות יי אמרות טהרות כסף צרוף בעליל לארץ מזוקק שבעתים ואומר מישרים אהבוך.

Rabbi Yannai said: If the Torah was given to be decreed, no foot could stand. What is the perception? The Eternal spoke to Moses. He said before Him: Master of the Universe judge me. How it is the rules? He said him: Bend down after majority. Many were favourable, they were favourable; many were guilty, they were guilty. So that the Torah could be inquired in 49 ways impure and 49 ways pure. A number of ודגלו. So it is said: Said the Eternal: are pure saying. Fine silver from the furnace to earth purified sevenfold. He said: the straightforward love you.

In this baraita the dispute among the Sages orbits around the revelation on the Sinai. The context is that of juridical formulations in which Rabbi Yannai declares that the Torah has been decided because the Lord spoke with Moses and taught him the practice. It expresses that if there is a majority for acquitting, innocence is declared, otherwise, if the majority is for convicting it is necessary to give a sentence. Because each mitzvah of the Torah can have 49 negative aspects and 49 positive aspects.³⁹⁶ It is written “The words of the Lord are pure words, like silver purged in a furnace of earth, purified seven times”,³⁹⁷ (Ps 12:6).

This baraita is a corollary to the two previous ones, in fact D.W. Halivni³⁹⁸ raises an interesting question about the revelation of God to Moses on the Sinai. He holds how can it be possible that there

³⁹⁴ B.D. SOMMER, *Revelation and Authority: Sinai in Jewish Scripture and Tradition* (New Haven, 2015) 156.

³⁹⁵ D. WEISS HALIVNI, *Peshat and Derash* (New York, 1991) 113.

³⁹⁶ The numerical value corresponds to the word ודגלו (*degheh*) that means banner, standard according to Song of Songs 2:4.

³⁹⁷ Seven times or sevenfold is interpreted as $7^2 = 49$.

³⁹⁸ D. WEISS HALIVNI, *Peshat and Derash* (New York, 1991) 114-115.

are disputes between God and men, and between God and the Heavenly Academy. If God gave Moses laws, how it is possible to have difference of opinions from the earliest revelations? D.W. Halivini explains that there is one truth and not a duality. In this baraita God says to Moses “to bend after the majority” it implies that the law is decided by the majority, the minority is in error. After Moses, man decides the determination of the law. In this case, God gave Moses 49 matters from which one thing can be pure and 49 matters from which can be impure. God reveals to Moses the whole Torah, with the *pros* and the *cons* but final decision is for every generation according to majority rule. For that purpose the disputes among the Sages are a replication of what God said to Moses, because all opinions are parts of the revelation.

5.3.2.12. Meghillah 1:4

רבי ירמיה בשם רבי שמואל בר יצחק. מה עשו מרדכי ואסתר. כתבו אגרת ושלחו לרבנותינו. שכן אמרו להם. מקבלין אתם עליכם שני ימים הלילו בכל־שנה. אמרו להן. לא דיינו הצרות הבאות עלינו אלא שאתם רוצין להוסיף עלינו עוד צרתו שלהמן. חזרו וכתבו להן איגרת שנייה. הדא היא דכתיב לקיים את אגרת [הפורים] הזאת השנית. מה היה כתוב בה. אמרו להן. אם מדבר זה אתם מתייראים הרי היא כתובה ומעלה בארכיים. הלוא־הם כתובים על־ספר דברי הימים למלכי מדי ופרס רבי שמואל בר נחמן בשם רבי יונתן. שמונים וחמשה זקנים ומהם שלשים וכמה נביאים היו מצטערין על הדבר הזה. כך אמר לנו משה. אין נביא אחר עתיד לחדש לכם דבר מעתה. ומרדכי ואסתר מבקשים לחדש לנו דבר. לא זו משם נושאים ונותנין [בדבר] עד שהאיר הקדוש ברוך הוא את עיניהם ומצאו אותה כתובה בתורה ובנביאים ובכתובים. הדא היא דכתיב ויאמר יי אל־משה כתוב זאת זכרון בספר. זאת תורה. כמא דתימר וזאת התורה אשר־שם משה לפני בני ישראל זכרון אילו הנביאים. ויכתב ספר זכרון לפניו ליראי יי וגו בספר אילו הכתובים. ומאמר אסתר קיים דברי הפורים האלה ונכתב בספר. רב ורבי חגיגא ורבי יונתן ובר קפרא ורבי יהושע בן לוי אמרו. המדילא הזאת נאמרה למשה בסיני. אלא שאין מוקדם ומאוחר בתורה. רבי יוחנן ורבי שמעון בן לקיש. רבי יוחנן אמר. הנביאים והכתובים עתידין ליבטל. וחמשת סיפרי תורה אינן עתידין ליבטל. מה טעמא. קול גדול ולא יסף. רבי שמעון בן לקיש אמר. אף מגילת אסתר והלכות אינן עתידין ליבטל. נאמר כאן קול גדול ולא יסף. ונאמר להלן וזכרם לא־יסיף מזרעם אלכות. הליכות עולם לו.

Rabbi Jeremiah in the name of Rabbi Samuel bar Rav Isaac. What did Mordecai and Esther do? They wrote a letter and sent it to our rabbis. So they said to them, do you accept upon your these two days every years? They said to them: Are not troubles [judgement] which come upon us enough that you want to add to ours the troubles of Haman? They returned and wrote to them a second letter. What is written? They confirmed the letter [Purim] this second. What was written in it? They said to them: If by this word you fear, it is written and deposited in the archives. These are not written in a book of things of the king of Media and Persia. Rabbi Samuel bar Nahman in the name of Rabbi Jonathan: 85 elders and 30 of them were prophets disjointed about these things. They said: It is written: These are the mitzvot that God commanded to Moses. These mitzvot were commanded to us from Moses. So Moses said to us: There is other prophet which is ready to renew you the things now. And Mordecai and Esther sought to reaffirm us the words. They did not move from there, they got up and gave [the word] until to be illuminated by the Holy Blessed be Him Their eyes found written on the Torah, in the Prophets and in Writing. This is what is written: The Eternal said to Moses: Wrote this in a book of remembrance. This is the Torah as you are saying, and this is the Torah

that Moses gave before the children of Israel. Remembrance are the Prophets, a book of remembrance was written before Him for those who fear the Eternal. In a book there are the Writings and the words of Esther are in the matters of Purim days and it was in a written book. Rav and Rabbi Ḥanina and Rabbi Jonathan and Bar Qappara and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi said: this scroll had been said to Moses on Sinai; only that is no earlier and later in the Torah. Rabbi Jonathan and Rabbi Simeon ben Laqish. Rabbi Jonathan said: now, the Prophets and the Writings ceased. Five books of the Torah never ceased. What is the reason? A strong voice never ends. Rabbi Simeon bar Laqish said: Indeed, the scroll of Esther and the practices never ceased. It is said: a strong voice never ceased. And it was said: their remembrance did not cease from their descendants. Practices? His practices are forever.

Sages debate about the second letter of Purim (Esth 9:29). Why did Mordecai and Esther want to introduce new instructions? Because it is written that the Lord gave Moses all commandments (Lev 27:34) and Moses asserted that no one would introduce new commandments. The Sages discussed until the Holy One revealed to their eyes what it is written in the Torah, Prophets and Hagiographist.

It is said: ויאמר יהוה על־משה כתב זכת “The Lord said to Moses: Write this for a memorial”, (Exod 17:14), and then וזאת תורה אשר־שם משה לפני בני ישראל “This is the law which Moses set before the Israelites”, (Deut 4:44); ויכתב ספר זכרון לפניו ליראי יהוה ולהשבי שמו “A book of remembrance was written before Him for those who fear the Name”, (Mal 3:16). The book of which Malachi refers, is the book of Esther in which are written the days of Purim: ומאמר אסתר קים דברי הפרים האלה ונכתב בספר “Commanded Esther validating the words of Purim, and these (were) written in the book”, (Esth 9:32).

R. Nikolsky³⁹⁹ argues in his work that the baraita is linked to other baraitot.⁴⁰⁰ However, in this situation Israelites included this mitzvah for Purim, as God ordered to Moses. Instead, in the other baraitot it is explained that Moses knowing the book of Esther on Purim, made it become a future precept for the Israelites. It implies that “Jews confirmed and irrevocably accepted”⁴⁰¹ this mitzvah, not only in the time of Moses, but also in the time of Mordecai and Esther.⁴⁰² This baraita is very useful because it attests that Moses received all revelation from the Lord. But the revelation is not known all at once, but from time to time. Moses is the only one who had this fullness.

³⁹⁹ R. NIKOLSKY, “God Tempted Moses for Seven days: The Bush Revelation in Rabbinic Literature,” in L.T. STUCKENBRUCK – G.H. van KOOTEN – R.A. KUGLER, ed., *The Revelation of the Name YHWH to Moses* (Leiden, 2006) 153-155.

⁴⁰⁰ *b. Meg.* 19b; *b. Šeb.* 39a; *t. Soṭah* 7:4-7 (according to MS Vienna).

⁴⁰¹ קימו וקבל [ו] [קבלו] היהודים (Esth 9:27).

⁴⁰² R. NIKOLSKY, “God Tempted Moses for Seven days: The Bush Revelation in Rabbinic Literature,” in L.T. STUCKENBRUCK – G.H. van KOOTEN – R.A. KUGLER, ed., *The Revelation of the Name YHWH to Moses* (Leiden, 2006) 156.

5.3.2.13. Shevi'it 6:1

רבי חיייה בשם רבי הונא תלמיד שהורה אפילו כהלכה אין הוראתו הוריייה. תני תלמיד שהורה הלכה לפני רבו חייב מיתה. תני בשם רבי ליעזר לא מתו נדב ואביהוא אלא שהורו בפני משה רבן. מעשה בתלמיד אחד שהורה לפני רבי ליעזר רבו. אמר לאימא שלום אעתו אינו יוצא שבתו. ולא יצא שבתו עד שמת. אמרו לו תלמידיו רבי נביא אתה. אמר להן לא נביא אנכי ולא בן נביא אנכי אלא כך אני מקובל שכל תלמיד המורה לפני רבו חייב מיתה.

Rabbi Ḥiyya in the name of Rabbi Ḥuna: If a student teaches even the practices and his instructions are not instructions. It was stated: The student who instructs about practice of Laws before his Master, he is guilty of death. It is stated in name of Rabbi Eliezer: Died Nadab and Abihu because they practiced before their master Moses. It happened that a student gave instructions before his master Rabbi Eliezer. Imma Shalom, his wife, said: Anything will produce this week. And that week anything was produced when he died. Said to him his student: Rabbi are you a prophet? Said to him: I am neither a prophet, nor a son of prophet, thus I received that from each student that gave instructions about practice before his master.

With this baraita the tales about the relationships between students and teachers begins. Biblical origins of it are rooted in the history of the sons of Aaron, Nadab and Abihu that

מחתתו ויתנו בהן אש וישימו עליה . . . ותצא אש מלפני יהוה ותאכל אותם

“took a censer and put fire in it . . . but a fire went out from the Lord and devoured them”, (Lev 10:1-2) They were the eldest sons of Aaron and according to Exodus 24:1, 9-11, they were in importance next Moses and Aaron.⁴⁰³ Exegetical account is very enlightening because J. Milgrom⁴⁰⁴ explains that they put a censer with a זרה “profane fire”. It was a stranger fire that surely it was from an unauthorized source. Moreover, the incense did not have a special fragrance (קטרת סמים) as ordered by the Lord (Exod 30:7) but it was only קטרת incense without a specific identification, therefore it was an unexceptional fragrance. In this tale the sin of Nadab and Abihu is due to the unauthorized fire and from the simple incense. It adduces to a profane altar that is not related with the Lord of Israel. It is also necessary to note that Nadab and Abihu are burned from a devouring fire. J. Milgrom⁴⁰⁵ asserts that the same fire it presents in the theophany of Leviticus 9:24, in which ותצא אש “a fire came out from before the Lord and consuming the burnt offering . . .”. The same fire ותצא אש מלפני יהוה ותאכל אותם “went out from the Lord and devoured them”, (Lev 10:2). If in the first episode the fire consuming the burnt offering and the Lord reveals His consent upon Aaron, in the second episode, the Lord reveals Himself with a devouring fire to remove the sons of Aaron.

⁴⁰³ J. MILGROM, *Leviticus 1-16* (New York, 1991) 596.

⁴⁰⁴ J. MILGROM, *Leviticus 1-16* (New York, 1991) 597.

⁴⁰⁵ J. MILGROM, *Leviticus 1-16* (New York, 1991) 600.

About it, Rabbi Ḥiyya accounts the history of Nadab and Abihu as a metaphor for his students that commit a deadly sin giving instructions about practice in front their teacher. Like in the biblical story Nadab and Abihu act without the presence of their teacher Moses. In this baraita it is taught that one student must proceed with his teacher because the Sage, as argued by J. Neusner,⁴⁰⁶ was identified as the image of God, and in the academies the holiness was conveyed through obedience and respect to the teacher. The baraita affirms that the instruction of the student is not instruction because J. Neusner⁴⁰⁷ assumes that the student lived in the shadow of his teacher that was rooted in the teaching of Moses. For that reason, each student was recognized by his behaviour with his teacher, in the way or in the community. The student had to distinguish the celestial model of Moses to discern the teacher of the Torah from the giver of the Torah that is the Lord.

5.3.2.14. Bikkurim 3:3

ולא כן תני תקום והדרת. מה קימה שאין בה חסרון כיס אף הידור שאין בה חסרון כיס. שנייא היא הכא שהוא אחת לקיצים. רבי יוסי בירבי בון בשם רבי חונא בר חייא. בוא וראה כמה גדול כוחן של עושי מצוות. שמפני זקן אין עומדין ומפני עומדין ומפני עושי מצוות עומדין. אמר רבי יוסי בירבי בון אילין דקיימין מן קומי מיתא לא מן קומי מיתא אינון קיימין לון אלא מן קומי אילין דגמלים ליה חסד.

עד כמה אדם צריך לעמוד מפני זקן. שמעון בר בא בשם רבי יותנן. פעמיים ביום. רבי לעזר אמר פעם אחת ביום. לא כן תני רבי שמעון בן אלעזר אומר. מניין לזקן שלא יטריח. תלמר זקן ויראת מאלהיך אני יי. על דעתיה דרבי יוחנן ניהא. על דעתיה דרבי לעזר לא יקום כל־עיקר. רבי יעקב בר אחא בשם רבי לעזר. דלא ייחמי סייעתא דסבין קומיהון בגין דיקומון לון מן קומוי. כשם שהן הלוקין כאן כך הן חלוקין בשאילת שלום.

רבי חזקיה רבי חנינה בריה דרבי אנהו בשם רבי אבדומה דמן חיפה. לזקן ארבע אמות עבר ישב לו. כהן גדול משהוא רואהו ועד שהוא נכסה ממנו. מה טשמא והיה כצאת משה האהלא יקומו כל־העם וגו. תרין אמורין. חד אמר לשבח וחד אמר לגנאי. מאן דאמר לשבח. מיחמי צדיקא ומזכי. ומאן דאמר לגנאי. חזי שקי חזי כרעין אכיל מן יהודאי שתי מן יהודאי. כל־מדליה מן יהודאי.

אמר רבי לעזר. אין התורה עומדת מפני בנה. שמואל אמר אין עומדין מפני חבר. רבי הילא רבי יעקב בר אידי הוון יתיבין. עבר שמואל בר בא וקמו לון מן קומוי. אמר לון. תרתיי גבכון. חדא שאיני זקן. וחדא שאין התורה עומדת מפני בנה.

רבי מאיר חמי אפילו סב עם הארץ ומקים ליה מן קומוי ואמר לא מגן מאריך ימים. רבי חנינא מהי מאן דלא קאים מקומוי והוה אמר ליה כי בעיתה מבטלה דאורייתא. אמר רבי סימון אמר הקדוש ברוך הוא מפני שיבה תקום והדרת פני זקן ויראת מאלהיך אני יי. אני הוא שקיימתי עמידת זקן תחילה.

It is not said: You shall stablish and give respect (Lev 19:32). Just as rising if nothing is missing, also to show respect should not cost anything? There is difference because it is once in a long time. Rabbi Yose ben Rabbi Abun in the name of Rabbi Ḥuna bar Ḥiyya: Come and see how it is great as the strength that they have to fulfil a mitzvot. Because before an elder one does not have to stand. Rabbi Yose ben Rabbi Abun, those that stand up before a dead person, do not stand up before a dead, but before those who serve him in charity. How often does a person have to rise before an elder? Simon bar Abba in the name of Rabbi Jonathan: twice in a day. Rabbi Eleazar said: once in a day. It is not said: Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar

⁴⁰⁶ J. NEUSNER, "The Phenomenon of the Rabbi in the Late Antiquity," *Numen* 16/1 (1969) 8.

⁴⁰⁷ J. NEUSNER, "The Phenomenon of the Rabbi in the Late Antiquity," *Numen* 16/1 (1969) 3, 9.

said: From where an elder should not importune? Teaching said: Elder fear Lord your God, I am the Eternal (Lev 19:32). According to consciousness of Rabbi Jonathan it is acceptable. According to Rabbi Eleazar one should get up at all. Rabbi Yacob bar Aḥa in the name of Rabbi Eleazar: That he should not see a group of old men that they go around and pass in front of them, they should rise before him. Just as they disagree here, likewise they disagree about greetings. Rabbi Hizqia, Rabbi Ḥanina ben of Rabbi Abbahu in the name of Rabbi Ebduna from Ḥaifa: For an elder four cubits. Once time he passed one sits down. The High Priest from the moment that one sees him until he disappears from view. What is the decision? When Moses went to the tent, the entire people rose (Exod 33:8). End. Two amora'im, one praise and one as shame. One who praise says: To see the just person and remember. And the other one says shame: Look the thighs, look the bones of the thighs, he eats from the Jews, he drinks from the Jews, he depends from the Jews.

Rabbi Eleazar said: The Torah does not get up because of her son. Samuel said: One does not get up because of a fellow. Rabbi Hila and Rabbi Yacob bar Idi were sitting. Samuel bar Abba passed and they stood up before him. He said to them: two things are wrongs with you. The first, that I am not an elder. The other that the Torah does not get up because of her son. When Rabbi Meir saw around that also a person of the earth (farmer) rose before him, he said to him: For nothing did he live so long. Rabbi Ḥanina slapped a person who refused to get up before him and said him, do you want to do away with the Torah? Rabbi Simon said: The Holy Blessed be Him, said: Before a person with white head you shall rise, and you fear an elder and your God. I am the Eternal (Lev 19:32). I am the one who first standing before an elder.

In this context there is a discussion among the Sages about the mitzvot in which it is said:

מפני שיבה תקום והדרת פני זקן ויראת מאלהיך אני יהיה “You shall rise before the grey headed and honour the presence of an old man and fear your God: I (am) the Lord”, (Lev 19:32).

Someone opines that in this quotation the importance is the fear for God, thus someone else argues that one should not get up at all. However, some Sages state that if an Elder is four cubits away a person can sit after his passage, instead before a High Priest it is useful to stand up until he disappears from view. This latter is influenced from the episode in which is told that when Moses went out to the tent all the people rose, and each man stood up until Moses disappeared (Exod 33:8).

Some Sages theorize that one person should stand up before an Elder, but someone else affirms that it is just to stand up before those who come to fulfil a commandment. Further in another statement some Sage says that those who stand before a dead man, do not stand up before a dead man but before those who serve him in charity. In this context an anecdote is uttered in which two Sages were sitting when Samuel bar Abba passed before them, and they immediately stood up. Samuel bar Abba said that he was neither an Elder nor does the Torah get up before her son (the Sage is a son

of the Torah). M. Aberbach⁴⁰⁸ presumes that a “daring Aggadic interpretation” of Leviticus 19:32 is primary about the importance of standing up before an Elder, because the Sages affirm that the Almighty Himself stood up in front of an Elder.⁴⁰⁹ According to R. Kirschner⁴¹⁰ the episode in which Rabbi Ḥanina slaps a person who did not rise before him, is an insult to the Rabbi, because the Sage is a personification of the Torah. This is not a question of arrogance, but it implies respect for the Torah and for the master.

5.3.3. Some aspects of Elijah in the Palestinian Talmud

5.3.3.1. Berakhot 1:1

איזהוא בין השמשות. אמר רבי תנחומא לטיפה של דם שהיא נתונה על גבי חודה של סייף נחלקה הטיפה לכאן ולכאן זהו בין השמשות. איזהוא בין השמשות. משתשקע החמה כדי שיהלך אדם חצי מיל דברי רבי נחמיה. רבי יוסי אומר בין השמשות כהרף עין ולא יכלו לעמוד עליו חכמים.

רבי יוסי ורבי אחא הוו יתבין. אמר רבי יוסי לרבי אחא לא מסתברא סוף חצי מיל דרבי נחמיה כהרף עין אמר ליה אוף אנא סבר כן. רבי חזקיה לא אמר כן אלא כל־הרף עין והרף עין שבחצי מיל דרבי נחמיה ספק הוא. אמר רבי מנא קשייתיה קומי רבי חזקיה כד תנינן תמן ראה אחת ביום ואחת בין השמשות. אחת בין השמשות ואחת למחר אם יודע הראייה מהיום ומקצתה למחר ודאי לטומאה ולקרובן ואם ספק שמקצת הראייה מהיום ומקצתה למחר ודאי לטומאה וספק לקרבן. רבי חייא בר יוסף בעא קומי רבי יוחנן מאן תנא ראייה נחלקת לשנים רבי יוסי. אמר ליה קשתה על דעתך דאת אמר כל־הרף עין והרף עין שבחצי מיל דרבי נחמיה ספק הוא. למה אמר לי קשייתיה לכשיבוא אליהו ויאמר זהו בין השמשות.

What is a dusk? Rabbi Taḥuma said: It is comparable to a drop of blood that comes on a sharp sword. The drop is separated from itself, here and there; it is the dusk. What is the dusk? After sunset, enough time that a man walks half mile, these the words of Rabbi Neḥemia. Rabbi Yose said: the dusk is a time of abandonment and the Sages cannot limit it. Rabbi Yose and Rabbi Aḥa were seated. Rabbi Yose said to Rabbi Aḥa: Is it not thinkable to end the half mile of Rabbi Neḥemia in a limited time? Said to him: I think like him. Rabbi Ḥizqia did not say as him, but every time of the half mile of Rabbi Neḥemia is limited. Rabbi Mana said: I raise the difficulty of Rabbi Ḥizqia from what we have taught. He saw one (emission) in the day, and one (emission) in the dusk, or one at the dusk and the next one the next day. If he knows that the emission in the dusk was short during the day and during the night, he is impure and needs a sacrifice. But if the emission occurred short in the day and in the night, he is impure and it is questionable if he needs a sacrifice. Rabbi Ḥiyya bar Yosef asked before Rabbi Yoḥanan: Who is the tanna that split the emission in two? Rabbi Yose. I said to him: You have difficulties to know it, as you say, because every time now, is now a moment of the half mile of Rabbi Neḥemia in doubt. What is his question good for you? When Elijah will come, he will say: It is the dusk.

⁴⁰⁸ M. ABERBACH, “The relations between master and disciple in the Talmudic Age,” in I. FINESTEIN – H.J. ZIMMELS – J. RABBINOWITZ, ed., *Essays Presented to Chief Rabbi Israel Brodie on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (London, 1967) 17.

⁴⁰⁹ The reference is about Genesis 18:2, when YHWH appeared to Abraham to the Oak of Mamre.

⁴¹⁰ R. KIRSCHNER, “Imitatio Rabbini,” *Journal for the Study* 17/1 (1986) 78.

This baraita is rather curious because the Sages converse about the dusk.⁴¹¹ In the Babylonian Talmud “twilight is when the sun sets, as long as, the Eastern face is reddened. If the lower has lost its colour, and the upper has not lost its colour, it is twilight”.⁴¹²

In the Palestinian Talmud, it is stated that a man needs to walk half a mile after sundown.⁴¹³ In this circumstance the discussion is focused on the exact moment of twilight, and the Sages raise the case in which a man could have one emission during the twilight. In this situation and according to the rules of purification, how should the emission be considered? Partially because it occurred during daytime or/and twilight. A Sage says that it is impossible to split an emission in two! Sages opined that twilight is questionable and only Elijah the prophet could know the true time, for him transcendental knowledge. A. Wiener⁴¹⁴ affirms that Elijah is named in the Talmud because he has more superiority than other human beings about the knowledge of the Torah. Elijah cannot change the Torah, but he is able to resolve halakhic applications according to the request of the Sages. Because Elijah is often mentioned for legal and juridical problems.

5.3.3.2. Berakhot 9:2

אליהו זכור לטור שאל לרבי נהוריי מפני מה באין זועות לעולם. אמר ליה בעון תרומה ומעשרות. כתוב אחד אומר תמיד עיני יי אלהיך בה. וכתוב אחד אומר המביט לארץ ותרעד יגע בהרים ויעשנו. הא כיצד יתקיימו שני כתובין הללו. בשעה שישראל עושין רצונו של מקום ומוציאין מעשרותיהן כתיקנן תמיד עיני יי אלהיך בה מראשית השנה ועד אחרית שנה ואינן נזוקין כלום. בשעה שאין ישראל עושין רצונו של מקום ואינן מוציאין מעשרותיהן כתיקנן המביט לארץ ותרעד. אמר ליה בני חייך כך היא סברא דמילתא. אבל כן עיקרו של דבר אלא בשעה שהקדוש ברוך הוא מביט בבתי תיטריות ובבתי קרקסות יושבות בטח ושאנן ובית מקדשו חרב הוא אפילו לעולמו להחריבו. ההוא דכריב שאוג ישאג על נוהו. בשביל נוהו. אמר רבי אחא בעון משכב זכור. אמר הקדוש ברוך הוא אתה זיעזעת על דבר שאינו שלך. חייך שאני מזעזע עולמי על אותו האיש. ורבנן אמרי בשביל המחלוקת. ונסתם גיא הרי כי יגיע גיא הרים על אצל. אמר רבי שמואל אין רעש אלא הפסק מלכות. כמה דאת אמר ותרעש הארץ ותחל. מפני מה. כי פמה על בבל מחשבות

Elijah he will be well remembered, asked Rabbi Nehorai. Why do earthquakes occur in the world? He said to him: Because heave and tithes. It is written: The eyes of the Eternal are continually on it (Deut 11:12). Another says: He who gazes the earth and it trembles; He touches the mountains and they smoke (Ps 104:32). How can they stay together two adversaries? According to this writing: If Israel makes the will of (God) the Place and he fulfil their tithes following the rules, the eyes of the Eternal your God are continually, on you from

⁴¹¹ About this topic it is necessary to specify that for Jewish people and its religious rules, it is important to determine the exact time of the dusk as well as the exact time for the entrance of Shabbat or other celebrations. In fact, between the Palestinian Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud there are dissimilarities.

⁴¹² *b. Shabbat 34b*

⁴¹³ According to the standard, in 12 hours a person walks 10 parasangs (= 40 miles). It means to walk for 18 minutes between sunrise and sunset. Naturally, it is valid for the Land of Israel and other countries that are at the same latitude. For other latitudes the twilight must be determined accordingly.

⁴¹⁴ A. WIENER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Development Judaism* (London, 1978) 56.

the start of the year to the end of the year, and they will not be hurt by anything. Pay attention, if Israel do not fulfil the will of (God) the Place and do not fulfil the tithes following the rules, the earth trembles. He said to him: this is your life. By this word if the Holy Blessed be Him sees theatres and circus existing in safety and quiet, but His Holy House is destroyed, He is menacing His world to destroy it. It is written: He will roar on His Place (Jer 25:30). Rabbi Aḥa said: sexual iniquity. The Holy Blessed be Him said: You made tremble your legs above the word that it is not given for you. For your life I will tremble My world because of that man. But the rabbis said: Quarrel. You will flee by the valley of the mountains, for the valley of the mountain you will touch Azel. Rabbi Samuel said: There is not earthquake but ceased the kingdom as one says: The earth quaked and trembled (Jer 51:29). Why? For the intention of the Eternal overtake Babylon.

In previous pages it has been specified that Elijah has a lot of tasks in the rabbinic world, and one of them is to answer the questions of the Sages, appeasing their curiosity about the earth and heaven. In this framework the Sages ask Elijah about events that seem to be contradictory as the reason of earthquakes and why they occur in the world. This question is obvious because if the Lord says that His eyes are always on the Land (Deut 11:12), and then in another verse He says also that He looks at the earth and it trembles (Ps 104:32), how it is possible that these two opinions can exist in the same context? Elijah explains that the sin of the man creates this dichotomy. The Holy One roars from the high against all the inhabitants of the earth (Jer 25:30), because He sees men safe and quiet while His temple is destroyed. The Lord makes the earth tremble because He desires that man returns to Him.

It is possible to make a consideration about the questions that have been posted to Elijah, because these reflections seem puerile, but they express a request for certainty. The Sages are confused, they try to be faithful to the Lord, but they have difficulties because they clash with contradictions of God. The role of Elijah is to pacify the hearts of the Sages and as asserts K. Lindbeck,⁴¹⁵ Elijah strengthens the human desire for knowledge and wisdom of the Lord; he encourages the Sages in their ways. However, A. Wiener⁴¹⁶ suggests that in this tale, Elijah has an evident attitude to impart to the Sages what God creates and allows. Elijah has the faculty of knowing what pleases God and therefore, he surpasses human thought, and explains the meaning of earthquakes and natural catastrophes.

5.3.3.3. Kil'ayim 9:4-6

רבי הוה ענוון סגין והוה אמר כל־מה דיימי לי בר נשא אנא עביד חוץ ממה שעשו זקני בתירא לזקני דשרון גרמון
מנשיאותיה ומנוניה. אין סליק רב הונא ריש גלותא להכה אנא מותיב ליה לעיל מיניי דהוא מן יהודה ואנא מבנימין דהוא מן
דכריא ואנא מן נקובתא. חד זמן אעל רבי חייה רונא לגביה אמר ליה הא רב הונא לבר נתכרכמו פניו של רבי. אמר ליה

⁴¹⁵ K.H. LINDBECK, *Elijah and the Rabbi* (New York, 2010) 116.

⁴¹⁶ A. WIENER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Development Judaism* (London, 1978) 54.

ארונו בא. אמר ליה פוק וחמי מאן בעי לך לבר. ונפק ולא אשכח בר נש וידע דהוא כעיס עלוי. עבד דלא עליל לגביה תלתין יומין. אמר רבי יוסי בר בון כל-אינון תלתויי יומיא יליף רב מיניה כללי דאורייתא. לסוף תלת עשרתי שניא ותלתתוי יומיא אעל אליהו לגביה בדמות רבי חייה רובה. אמר ליה מה מרי עביד. אמר ליה חד שיניי מעיקה לי. אמר ליה חמי לה לי וחמי לה ליה ויהב אצבעתיה עלה ואינשמט. למחר אעל רבי חייה רובה לגביה אמר ליה מה עביד רבי האי שינך מה היא עבידא. אמר ליה מן ההיא שעתא דיהב אצבעתך עלה אינשימת. באותה שעה אמר אי לכם חיות שבארץ ישראל אי לכם עוברות שבארץ ישראל. אמר ליה אנא לא הוינא מן ההיא שעתא נהיג ביה ביקר.

Rabbi was very humble and it was said all that I am ready to do except what the elders of Batyra did for my ancestor: they delivered themselves of their high role and appointed him. If Rav Huna Head of the Diaspora ascended, would come here and I let him sit higher than myself because he is from of Judah and I am from Benjamin. He is from the male line and I designed from female. Once Rabbi Ḥiyya the elder, visited him said to him: Rabbi Huna is outside. The face of Rabbi became (coloured) as saffron. Said to him: I saw his coffin. He (Rabbi) said to him: Go and see from where he goes outside. He goes outside and did not find anybody. He understood that he was angry with him. He ceased to make again deeds (visit) for thirty days. Rabbi Yose bar Abun said: In these thirty days. Elijah visited him in the likeness of the older Rabbi Ḥiyya. He said to him: How does my lord feel? He said to him: A tooth afflicts me. He said to him: Show it to me. He showed it and he put a finger upon it and a vital breath (healed it). The day after Rabbi Ḥiyya came and asked him. He said what did Rabbi do during that time in which he has been healed. He said to him: during that short time he puts me the finger and he (gives me) the breath of life (healed). At that moment he said: Woe on you, lying women of the Land of Israel, woe on you pregnant women of the Land of Israel. By that moment he made his humanity high.

In this baraita it is accounted about Rabbi (Yehuda Ha Nasi) and Rabbi Ḥiyya. Rabbi said that the elders of Bathyra divested themselves of their presidency and appointed his ancestor Hillel to their tasks. Rabbi affirmed that he would have left Rav Huna, the Head of the Diaspora, to sit in his place because he was higher than him. Rav Huna was from the tribe of Judah and Rabbi from Benjamin. Once, R. Ḥiyya visited Rabbi and told him that Rav Huna was outside. When Rav Ḥiyya understood that Rabbi was angry with him because he had joked about exilarchic authority, Rabbi banned him for thirty days. At the end of thirteen years and thirty days, Elijah visited Rabbi in the likeness of R. Ḥiyya, and healed him from a toothache; he put his finger upon the tooth and was healed. From that moment Rabbi treated R. Ḥiyya with honour.

According to K. Lindbeck,⁴¹⁷ in the Palestinian Talmud, there are only four tales about Elijah, but only in one of them Elijah performs miracles. However, Elijah appears under the guise of a R. Ḥiyya, and not as himself. The miracle occurs after thirteen years and thirty days since Rabbi became sick. A.I. Baumgarten⁴¹⁸ argues that Rabbi offered this suffering for atonement of the sin in the world.

⁴¹⁷ K.H. LINDBECK, *Elijah and the Rabbi* (New York, 2010) 45.

⁴¹⁸ A.I. BAUMGARTEN, "Rabbi Judah I and His Opponents," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 12/2 (1982) 147.

5.3.3.4. Pesahim 3:6

תני אמר רבי יודה. לא נחלקו בית הלל על תרומה טהורה שאסיר לשורפה ועל תרומה טמיאה שמותר לשורפה. על מה נחלקו. על התלויה. שבית [שמאי] אומרין. עין שורפין. ובית הלל אומרין. שורפין. אמרו בית שמי לבית הלל. כלום אתם אומרין בטהורה שלא תשרף. אלא שאני אומר. שמא כהן אחד בתוך התחום והוא בא ואוכלה בשבת. אף תלויה לא תשרף. שמא אליהו שבת בהר הכרמל והוא בא ומעיד עליה בשבת שהיא טהורה. אמרו להן בית הלל. מובטחין אנו שאין אליהו בא לא בשבתות ולא בימים טובים.

It was stated: Rabbi Yudah said: Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel did not agree about pure heave that it is forbidden to burn it, and about impure heave that one is permitted to burn it. What they disagree? About the suspended one, the House of Shammai said that there is not burn it. And the Beth Hillel, it has to burn. The Beth of Shammai said to Beth Hillel: Everything that you say pure cannot burned because I am saying that a priest in the midst of the Shabbat in his domain, he come and eat in on the Shabbat. So, said Beth Shammai: the suspended one cannot be burned because I am saying that Elijah in Shabbat, on Mount Carmel, he came and tried that on the Shabbat it is pure. Said to him Beth Hillel: we hope that Elijah will not come either Shabbat or in the holidays.

In this other baraita, the Sages, especially the House of Hillel and the House of Shammai, discuss about pure and impure heave if the 13th of Nisan is a Friday. According to Rabbi Jehudah, the House of Hillel and Shammai did not disagree about the pure heave that it is forbidden to burn on 13th of Nisan, but they disagree about the impure heave. The House of Shammai asserted that the impure cannot be burnt, instead the House of Hillel affirmed that it may be burnt. The House of Shammai justified his choice saying that if a priest was keeping the Shabbat in his domain, he could eat on the Shabbat as well as the impure, because Elijah the Prophet might appear and decides if it is pure or impure. The House of Hillel said that Elijah cannot come on the day of Shabbat and in holidays.

This dispute appears very curious because it seems absurd, but in Numbers 18:8 is written: וידבר יהוה אל־אהרן ואני הנה נתתי לך את־משמרת תרומתי לכל־קדשי בני־ישראל לך נתתים למשחה ולבניך לחק־עולם “The Lord spoke to Aaron: ‘Here, I Myself have also given you charge of My heave offerings, all the holy gifts of the children of Israel; I have given them as a portion to you and your sons, as an ordinance forever’”. This impurity is tied to the offers of the Israelites about “the heave offering of their gifts”, (Numb 18:11). Offers can be eaten by priests and their families. In this scene Elijah is named because, as above, he surpasses the human thought, and he could light up the Sages on the cavils of the halakha.

5.3.3.5. Berakhot 5:2

כתיב ויאמר אליהו התשבי מתשבי גלעד אל אחאב חי יי אלהי ישראל אשר עמדתי לפניו אם יהיה השנים האלה טל ומטר כי אם לפי דברי. רבי ברכיה אמר רבי יסא ורבנן חד אמר בין על הטל ובין על המטר נשמע לו וחרנא אמר על המטר נשמע לו ועל הטל לא נשמע לו. מן הדא לך הראה אל אחאב ואתנה מטת וגומר. ימן דמר בין על הטל על המטר נשמע לו. איכן הותר נדרו של טל. אמר רבי תנחומא עדרעייא סברין מימר נדר שהותר מכללו הותר כולו. אית דבעי מימר בבנה של

צרפית ויקרא אל יי ויאמר יי אלהי וגומר. אמר רבי יודה בן פזי לאחד שגנב נרתיקו של רופא. עם כשהוא יוצא נפצע בנו. חזר עצלו אמר לו אדוני הרופא רפא את בני. אמר לו לך והחזר את הנרתק שכל מיני רפואות נתונין בו ואני מרפה את בנך. כך אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא לאלהו לך והתר נדרו של טל שאין המתים חיים אלא בטללים ואני מחיה את בנה של הצרפית. ומניין שאין המתים חיים אלא בטללים. יחיו מיתך נבלתי יקומון הקיצו ורננו שוכני עפר כי טל אורות טלך וארץ רפאים תפיל. אמר רבי תנחום עדרעי וארעה תפקידיה תפלט.

It is written: Elijah the Tishbita from the inhabitants of Gilead said to Aḥab: By the Living Eternal One, the God of Israel, before Whom I stood, there is not dew and rain these years except by my work (1Kgs 17:1). Rabbi Berechia said, Rabbi Yosa and the rabbis: One said to him for dew and the other for the rain in the year and the other said that there was rain in the year but no dew. From that: Go and appear before Aḥab and I shall give rain (1 Kgs 18:1). End. And who said to him about the dew and the rain in the year? Where was the vow of the dew dissolved? Rabbi Taḥuma from Edrei said: he tried to say that a vow made in the community can be inquiry. Who did say: From the son of the woman of Sarepta: He called the Eternal and said, O Eternal my God (1 Kgs 17:20). End. Rabbi Yehuda ben Pazi said: For one who stole a bag of a doctor. When he left his son was injured. He is coming back to him and said: Please sir doctor heals my son. Go and return my bag because it is full of medicines and I shall heal your son. So, the Holy Blessed be Him, said to Elijah: Go and lift the vow that you made of dew because the dead are resurrected only by dew, then I shall resurrect the son of the Sareptan. And from where that dead will live only for dew? Your dead will live, the corpses will arise (Isa 26:19). Wake up and jubilate, those who dwell in dust. For a dew of light is Your dew. Rabbi Taḥuma from Edrei said: the earth will take care of those who are deposited in it.

This baraita emphasizes the episode in which Elijah promises to Aḥab that there would be neither dew nor rain, except when he would command it (1 Kgs 17:1). The Sages discuss about the vows of Elijah, because according to some, when God promised rain to Aḥab (1 Kgs 18:1), Elijah dissolved partially his vows, while for other Sages, Elijah dissolved both vows. However, Rabbi Judah ben Pazi asserted that in the tale of the dead of the son of the widow from Sarepta (1 Kgs 17:20) the Holy One asked Elijah to leave the vow of dew because the dead are resurrected by the dew, in this case the son of the widow. This last certainty is acquired by what it is written יחיו מיתך נבלתי יקומון הקיצו ורננו שוכני עפר כי טל אורת טלך וארץ רפאים תפיל “Your dead shall live. My dead bodies shall arise. Awake and rejoice, you who dwell in dust; because your dew is bright dew, and the earth shall cast out the spirits (of the dead)”, (Isa 26:19). As argued by K. Lindbeck,⁴¹⁹ in this baraita Elijah is compared to a thief who steals a bag of a doctor. Thus, when the son of a thief gets sick, immediately he goes to the doctor and this last tells him that he needs his bag. The thief brings him the bag and his son is cured. The same parallelism occurs for Elijah that when the oath on dew is cancelled, the son of the widow

⁴¹⁹ K.H. LINDBECK, *Elijah and the Rabbi* (New York, 2010) 84-85.

rose from the dead. K. Lindbeck⁴²⁰ asserts that it is unknown why the thief goes unpunished. However, every thief that steals from God, makes an accord and takes what he desires.

5.3.4. Some aspects of Moses and Elijah in Palestinian Talmud

5.3.4.1. Sanhedrin 10:2

כתוב בימיו בנה חיאל בית האלי את־יריחו באבירם בכרו יסדה ובשגוב צעירו הציב דלתיה. חיאל מן יהושפט. יריחו מבנימין. אלא שמגלגלין זכות על ידי זכאי וחובה על ידי חייב. וכן הוא אומר באבורם בכרו יסדה ובשגוב צעירו הציב דלתיה. באבירם בכרו לא היה מאיין ללמד. ובשגוב הרשע היה לו מאיין ללמד. לפי שרצו לרבות את ממונן ושלטה בהן מאירה והיה מתמוטטין והולכין. לקיים מה שנאמר כדבר יי אשר דבר ביד יהושע בן־נון. כתוב ויאמר אליהו התשבי מתושבי גלעד אל־אחאב חי־י אלהי ישראל אשר עמדתי לפניו אמ־יהיה השנים האלה טל ומטר כי אמ־לפי דברי וכי מה עניין זה אצל זה. אלא אמר הקדוש ברוך הוא לאליהו. הדין חיאל גברא רבא הוא. איזיל חמי ליה אפין. אמר ליה. לי נה מיזל. אמר ליה. למה. אמר ליה. דנא מיזל וינן אמרין מילין דמכעיסין לך ולינה יכיל מיסבול. אמר ליה. ואין אמרין מילה דמכעסה לי כל־מה דאת גזר אנא מקיים. אזל ואשכחון עסיקין בהן קרייא וישבע יהושע בעת ההיא לאמר ארור האיע לפני יי אשר יקום ובנה את־העיר הזאת את־יריחו בבכרו ייסדנה ובצעירו יציב דלתיה אמר. בריך הוא אלההון דצדיקיא דמקיים מילי דצדיקא. והוה תמן אחאב. אמר לון אחאב. וכי מי גדול ממי משה או יהושע אמרין ליה. משה. אמר לון. בתורתו שלמשה כתוב השמרו לכם פן־יפתה לבבכם וסרתם ועבדתם אלהים אחרים והשתחוויתם להם ומה כתריה. וחרה אף־יי בכם ועצר את־השמים ולא־יהיה מטת. ולא הינחתי עבודה זרה בעולם שלא עבדתי אותה. וכל־טבן ונחמן דאית בעלמא אתון בדרי. מילוי דמשה לא קמן ומילי דיהושע מקים. אמר ליה אליהו. אם כדביך חי־י אלהי ישראל אשר עמדתי לפניו אמ־יהיה השנים האלה טל ומטר כי אמ־לפי דברי כיון ששמע כן התחיל בוכה. הדא היא דכתיב ויהי כשמוע אחאב את־הדברים האלה ויקרע את בגדיו וישם־שק על־בשרו ויצום וישכב בשק ויהלך אט כמה נתענה. שלש שעות נתענה. אם היה למוד לוכל בשלש היה אוכל בשש. אם למוד לוכל בשש היה אוכל בתשע. ויהלך אט. מהו עט. רבי יהושע בן לוי אמר. שהיה מהלך יחף. כתיב ויהי דבר־יי אל־אליהו התשבי לאמר הראית כי־נכנע מחאב מלפניי. אמר הקדוש ברוך הוא לאליהו. ראה מנה טובה שנתתי בעולמי. אדם חוטא לפני כמה ועושה תשובה ואני מקבלו. הדא היא דכתיב הראית כי־נכנע אחאב מלפניי. חמית אחאב עבד תשובה. יען כי־נכנע אחאב מפניי לא־אביא הרעה בימיו בימי בנו אביא הרעה על־ביתו.

It is written: In these days Hiel from Beth-El built Jericho with Abiram his first born, he set the foundation and with his youngest son Segub he put in the doors (1 Kgs 16:34). Hiel is from Josaphat. Jericho is in Benjamin. But the good deeds (are put) in the hands of the worthy and bad deeds of the unworthy. Therefore it is written: with his first-born Abiram he establishes the foundation and with youngest Segub, he put in the doors. If he did not learn from Abiram the first born, should he not have learned from the wicked Segub? They wanted to make more money, the curse ruled them and they were weakened as it was said: saying the words of the Eternal the God of Israel, which He spoken through Joshua ben Nun (1 Kgs 16:34). It is written: Elijah the Tishbite from the inhabitants of Gilead, said Ahab: By the Eternal, the God of Israel before whom I stood, there will not be dew or rain in the coming years except by my word (1 Kgs 17:1). What is the meaning between these? The Holy Blessed be His said to Elijah: this Hiel is great and strong, go and see before him. He said to Him: I do not go. He said to him: Why? He said: If I go and they say things that hurt I cannot bear it. He told him: If they say things that hurt Me, anything that you decide, I shall fulfil. He went and met them saying: Joshua was terrified and said: Cursed the man before the Eternal who would build this town. Jericho with his first born he will put in the foundation and with his youngest set the doors (Jos 6:26). He said: Blessed be God of the just. Who accomplished the

⁴²⁰ K.H. LINDBECK, *Elijah and the Rabbi* (New York, 2010) 85.

words of the just? Aḥab also was there. Aḥab said to them: Who is greater, Moses or Joshua? They said: Moses. He said them: about Moses, it is written in the Torah. Watched yourselves, your heart is in rebellion, served God, follow and bow down Him (Deut 11:16-17). What is written next? Let off the rage before the Eternal. The skies will not rain. I did not leave strange worship on the earth that I would not have worshipped, and all good comforting things will come for eternity. He did not revenge the words of Moses, and with the words of Joshua? Elijah said to him: It is as you say, by the Living Eternal, the God of Israel, before whom I stood, there will be not dew and rain in the coming years except by my word. When he heard this, he was afflicted. This is what it is written: When Aḥab heard these words, he tore his garments, he was desolate and he covered himself with sackcloth on his flesh, fasted, slept in sackcloth and went at (1 Kgs 21:27). How long did he fast? Three hours. It was taught to eat at 3 o'clock, he ate at 6 o'clock. If it was taught to eat at 6 o'clock he ate at 9 o'clock. He went *at*. What is *at*? Rabbi Joshua ben Levi said: he went barefoot. It is written: The word of the Eternal to Elijah the Tishbite as said: Did you see that Aḥab was humble before the Eternal? (1 Kgs 21:28-29). The Holy Blessed be Him to Elijah: Did you see how it is beautiful give that is in My world? A person may displease Me, but he is loved by His Creator if he come back, and I accept he. This is what it is written: Did you see as Aḥab humbled before Me? Aḥab humbled himself and he made repentance. Because Aḥab humbled before Me I did not bring wrath in his days, but his sons I will bring wrath in their offspring.

This baraita connects the tales of Moses and Elijah. It is written:

34בימיו בנה חיאל בית האלי את־ריחה באבירם בכרו יטדה ובשגיב [ו] [ב] [שגוב] צעירו הציב דלתיה כדבר יהוה אשר דבר ביד יהושע בן־נון ויאמר אליהו התשבי מתשבי גלעד אל־אחאב חי־יהוה אלהי ישראל אשר עמדתי לפניו אמ־יהיה השנים האלה טל ומטר כי אמ־לפי דברי

“Hiel of Beth-El in his days-built Jericho. He established its foundation with Abiram his firstborn, and with his youngest Segub as the word of the Lord, which He had spoken through Joshua the son of Nun”; and “Elijah the Tishbite, of the inhabitants of Gilead, said to Ahab, ‘As the Lord God of Israel lives, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, except at my word’”, (1 Kgs 16:34-17:1).

In the first case, Hiel is accused of building Jericho causing the death of his two sons, especially because Hiel persevered in his stubbornness with his second son, despite the death of his first-born. In the second case, the Holy One asked Elijah to go to Hiel for a visit of condolence, but Elijah refused because he feared that he would be unable to restrain himself if they said things that enrage the Lord. The Holy One appreciates Elijah and assures him that everything Elijah would have decided, the Lord would have fulfilled. Elijah went there and he found that they discussed about the curse that Joshua had said about Jericho:

וישבע יהושע בעת ההיא לאמר ארור האיש לפני יהוה אשר יקוב ובנה את־העיר הזאת את־יריחו בבכרו ייסדנה ובצעירו יציב דלתיה

“Swore Joshua at time, saying: Cursed (be) the man before the Lord. He who will build up this city of Jericho; he shall lay its foundation with his firstborn, and with his youngest he shall set up its

gates”, (Josh 6:26). Aḥab was there and asked them who was greater: Moses or Joshua? They said Moses. Aḥab said that in the Torah of Moses it is written:

וְלֹא־יְהִי מִטֶּר וְהַאֲדָמָה לֹא תִתֵּן אֶת־יְבוּלָהּ וְאַבְדַּתְּם מִהֵרָה מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ הַטְּבֵה אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה נָתַן לָכֶם¹⁶ וְחָרָה אַף־יְהוָה בְּכֶם וְעִצֵּר אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם

“defend yourselves and fear that your heart will be seduced, and you turn aside to serve other gods bowing to them. The anger of the Lord would burn against you, and He shut up the heavens so that there be no rain, and the earth would not give its product and you would perish quickly from the good earth, that the Lord is giving you”, (Deut 11:16-17). According to Aḥab what Joshua predicted happened contrary to the words of Moses. Elijah answered him:

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֵיהֶם הַתְּשִׁבִי מִתְּשִׁבֵי גִלְעָד אֶל־אַחָאָב חִי־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר עִמָּדָתִי לִפְנֵי אִם־יְהִי הַשָּׁנִים הָאֵלֶּה טַל וּמִטֶּר כִּי אִם־לִפְנֵי דְבָרִי

“As the Lord God of Israel lives, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, except at my word”, (1 Kgs 17:1). Aḥab cried and fasted. The Lord said to Elijah that Aḥab had repented and God accepted him and promised that

כִּי־נִכְנַע מִפְּנֵי לֹא־אָבִי [אָבִיא] הִרְעָה בִּימֵי בִּנּוֹ אָבִיא הִרְעָה עַל־בֵּיתוֹ

“Did you see as Aḥab humbled himself before Me? Because he has humbled before me, I will bring disaster in his days. in the days of his son I will bring the calamity on his house”, (1 Kgs 21:29). In these events the behaviour of Elijah appears normal, he is protected by the Lord that assures him to do everything that Elijah commands Him. However, as noted by A. Wiener,⁴²¹ Elijah assures Aḥab drought, but the Lord is conquered from the repentance of Aḥab and he did not keep his promise. Aḥab will not see evil in his days, contrary to his dynasty.

5.3.4.2. Eruvin 5:1

כְּתִיב וּמֹשֶׁה יָקַח אֶת־הָאֹהֶל וּגּו'. כִּמָּה הָיָה רְחִיק. רַבִּי יִצְחָק אָמַר. מִיֵּל. וְהָיָה כֹּל־מִבְּקֵשׁ מֹשֶׁה אֵין כְּתוּב כֹּאן. אֵלֶּה וְהָיָה כֹּל־מִבְּקֵשׁ יֵי. מִיֵּכֵן שְׁכַל־הַמִּקְבִּיל פְּנֵי רַבּוֹ כֹּאִילוֹ מִקְבֵּל פְּנֵי שְׂכִינָה. רַבִּי חֲלָבּוֹ רַבִּי חוּנָה בְּשֵׁם רַבּוֹ. כְּתִיב וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֵיהֶם הַתְּשִׁבִי וּגּו'. וְהָלֹא אֵלֵיהֶם טִירוּנִין לְנִבְיָאִים הָיָה. אֵלֶּה מִלְּמַד שְׁכַל־עֲמִידוֹת שְׁעֵמֶד לִפְנֵי אַחִיָּה הַשִּׁילּוּנִי רַבּוֹ כִּילוֹ עִמֵּד לִפְנֵי הַשְּׂכִינָה. רַבִּי חֲלָבּוֹ בְּשֵׁם אֵילִין דְּבֵית שִׁילָה. אִפִּילוֹ אֵלֵיהֶם מִבְּקֵשׁ מִים לִפְנֵי הָיָה אֵלֵישָׁע נֹתֵן עַל יָדָיו. מָה טַעְמוֹ. פַּה אֵלֵישָׁע בֶּן־שִׁפְטָא אֲשֶׁר לָמַד תּוֹרָה אֵין כְּתוּב כֹּאן. אֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר־יִצְקֵם מִים עַל־יָדָיו אֵלֵיהֶם. כְּתִיב וְהִנֵּעַר שְׂמוּאֵל מִשְׁרַת אֶת־יְיָ לִפְנֵי עֵלִי. וְהָלֹא לֹא מִשְׁרַת אֵלֶּה לִפְנֵי עֵלִי. אֵלֶּה מִלְּמַד שְׁכַל־שִׁירוֹת שְׁרַת לִפְנֵי עֵלִי רַבּוֹ כִּילוֹ שְׁרַת לִפְנֵי שְׂכִינָה. תְּנִי רַבִּי יִשְׁמַעֵאל. וַיֵּבֵא אֶהֱרֹן וְכָל זִקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹאֲכֹל לַחֵם עִם־חֹתֵן מֹשֶׁה לִפְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים וְכִי לִפְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים אֲכָלוּ. אֵלֶּה מִיֵּכֵן שְׁכַל־הַמִּקְבִּיל פְּנֵי חֲבִירוֹ כִּילוֹ מִקְבֵּל פְּנֵי שְׂכִינָה.

It is written: and Moses took the Tent (Exod 33:7). End. How far away was it? Rabbi Ytzhak said: One mile. It is not written anybody asked to Moses, but and it was that anybody asking the Eternal. From here that anybody visiting his teacher is as if he was visiting the Shekinah.

⁴²¹ A. WIENER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Development Judaism* (London, 1978) 46.

Rabbi Ḥelbo in name of Rav: It is written: Elijah the Tishbite said. End. Was not Elijah the ruler of the prophets? But he teaches that all those which standing before Aḥiah of Shilo his master, they stand before the Shekinah. Rabbi Ḥelbo in name of those that are of the house of Shilo: Elijah wanted water for his face, Elisha put it in his hands. What is the decision? Here is Elisha ben Shafat (2 Kgs 3:11). It is not said here: who studied the Torah, but who poured water on the hands of Elijah. It is written: The lad Samuel was serving the Eternal before Eli (1 Sam 3:1). He did not serve only before Eli? But he served the nobles which served before his master. Eli was as he served before the Shekinah. It is stated Rabbi Ismael: And Aaron and all the elders of Israel came to eat bread with the father-in-law of Moses, before God (Exod 18:18). And how they ate before God? But from here that all who receive a friend it is as they receive the Shekinah.

In this baraita it is stressed the importance of the master or sage for every student, because they are is compared to the Shekinah. This assertion is validated by several biblical quotations as follows:

ומשה יקח את־האהל ונטה־לו מחוץ למחנה הרחק מן־המחנה וקרא לו אהל מועד והיה כל־מבקש יהוה יצא אל־אהל מועד
אשר מחוץ למחנה

“Moses took his tent and pitched it outside the camp, far from the camp and called it Tent of meeting. Everyone who sought the Lord went out to the Tent of meeting, that was outside the camp”, (Exod 33:7). The Sages discuss also the case of Elijah:

ויאמר אליהו התשבי מתשבי גלעד אל־אחאב חי־יהוה אלהי ישראל אשר עמדתי לפניו אִם־יהיה השנים האלה טל ומטר כי
אִם־לפי דברי

“Elijah the Tishbite, of the inhabitants of Gilead, said to Ahab, ‘As the Lord God of Israel lives, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, except at my word’”, (1 Kgs 17:1). The Sages affirm that Elijah teaches that when he stayed before his teacher Aḥiyya from Shilo, it was as if he stayed before the Shekinah. Even when Elijah washed his face with water, Elisha put it on his hands. Because Elisha did not study only the Torah, but it is written that אשר־יצק מים על־ידי אליהו “he poured water on the hands of Elijah”, (2 Kgs 3:11).

Even Eli, the lad of Samuel, serving his teacher before the Shekinah. The Sages conclude that everyone that receive a friend, is as if he welcomes the Shekinah. In this baraita the Sages emphasize the relationship between Moses and Elijah about their behaviour before the Shekinah. Either Moses or Elijah educated their disciples to stay before the Shekinah, and like them also other biblical persons that were often before the Divine Presence.

It could be appropriate to spend some time reflecting about the Shekinah and its role in the history of the Jewish people. Etymologically, Shekinah means “to dwell” from the verb שָׁכַן (shakan). M.E. Lodahl⁴²² in his work distinguishes Ruah, Pneuma and Shekinah, that are epithets of the Divine Presence. Each of them has some peculiarities but in this milieu, it is opportune to examine the

⁴²² M.E. LODAHL, *Shekhinah Spirit* (Mahwah, 1992) 41.

meaning of Shekinah. M.E. Lodahl⁴²³ attests that the Shekinah is a living presence of God in the midst of Israel. It is not a separate presence, but the Lord dwells in that place. However, E.E. Urbach⁴²⁴ explains that in rabbinic thought⁴²⁵ the Divine Presence is tied to human behaviour because after the sin of Adam the Divine Presence disappears from the world and it comes back with Moses who erected a Tabernacle. According to the Sages if the Shekinah is present in a place it does not mean that it is absent elsewhere, because God is always with his people. Moreover, E.E. Urbach⁴²⁶ suggests that if the Shekinah decides to dwell in a small place as the Tabernacle, it means that although the space is limited, his size is greater. In the Hebrew Bible the Shekinah is often present in the Tabernacle, in the Temple of Jerusalem and especially in the midst of the people of Israel⁴²⁷ but when the Temple was destroyed, the Sages thought that the Shekinah had departed. Instead, R. Aqiva and his followers,⁴²⁸ assures the people that the Shekinah is always present with the people sharing their suffering and their exile. According to R. Aḥa the Shekinah never leaves the Western Wall of the Temple.⁴²⁹ However there is an opposite view because J. Abelson⁴³⁰ attests that the Torah is the first place in which the immanence of God is present. This concept is attested by the Scripture in Deuteronomy 30:11-14, and also in the words of R. Halafta of Hanania⁴³¹ who declares that when ten men sat down together with the words of the Torah, the Shekinah is in the midst of them, instead according to R. Hanania ben Teradion⁴³² two men are sufficient.

These views allow us to understand the figure of Moses and Elijah before the Shekinah. In the Talmud it is written that God chose to dwell on Mount Sinai because it was not proud.⁴³³ Surely the Sinai was the first place in which the Shekinah dwelt, it was the first place in which Moses and then Elijah knew the Lord. Moses was chosen to lead the people towards a new life, and also to receive the Torah. As above, one who studies the Torah, is always before the Shekinah, before the immanence of God. Moses was worthy to dwell with the Shekinah for forty days, on the Mount. The Scripture said that his face was radiant (Exod 34:35) because the Shekinah had changed the inner and outer man. God decides to dwell in the midst of the people and command Moses to erect a Tabernacle (Exod 25:8). God trusts Moses who has chosen to do the divine will, and also Elijah who is a prophet and a zealous man, after the experience on the Horeb, the Mount of God (1 Kgs 19:8). Elijah is

⁴²³ M.E. LODAHL, *Shekhinah Spirit* (Mahwah, 1992) 52.

⁴²⁴ E.E. URBACH, *The Sages* (Jerusalem 1979) 52.

⁴²⁵ *Numb. Rab.* 13, 2.

⁴²⁶ E.E. URBACH, *The Sages* (Jerusalem, 1979) 53.

⁴²⁷ Exod 29:45; 40:35; Numb 5:3; 35:34; Deut 23:15; Isa 8:18; Ezek 36:26; Zech 2:10-12, 14; 8:3.

⁴²⁸ *Mek. de-Rabbi Ishmael* 12; *Sifre Numbers* 84; *b. Meg.* 29a; *Sifre Numbers* 161; *Numb. Rab.* 7; *b. Yoma* 56b; *Exod. Rab.* 15, 5.

⁴²⁹ *Exod. Rab.* 2.

⁴³⁰ J. ABELSON, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinic Literature* (New York, 1969) 296.

⁴³¹ *b. Sanh.* 39b.

⁴³² *m. 'Abot* 3,2.

⁴³³ *b. Soṭah* 5a.

discouraged but, on the Mount, he meets the Shekinah and his life takes effect. Unlike Moses with the burning bush, Elijah experiences the sweetness of God in a still small voice (1 Kgs 19:12). After this experience, Elijah is ready to fight for the Lord. Through his Shekinah, God strengthens and confirms Moses and Elijah in their tasks. Their humanity is superseded by the action of God in their lives. They are suitable to being shaped by the Lord.

5.3.5. Moses and Elijah as multivalent figures in Palestinian Talmud

In the Palestinian Talmud, both Moses and Elijah can be defined multitaskers because they have many peculiarities. Analysing the rabbinic history of Moses, God chooses Moses but above all, God elects Israel as his people (Deut 7:6). The role of Moses is to take care of Israel and get them out of the land of Egypt. It is an onerous responsibility, but Moses fulfils it, and he is like a father for Israel. When Israel suffers, Moses manifests compassion for them, but when the people betray his trust, Moses also feels anger. If on the one hand Moses is angry with Israel, on the other hand, he asks God to forgive the people. Moses intercedes for Israel and he tries to calm divine wrath. Notwithstanding Moses is aware of being chosen by God, he is not tied to the gifts that God gives him. Moses appears free and submitted to the will of the Lord. In fact, Moses officiates as High Priest and then he accepts that Aaron and his sons will be the priestly lineage. Moses performs miracles not for himself, but for God, in fact the oil of anointing will be used to anoint Aaron, his sons and the priests, and all the furnishing of the Tent of the Meeting. Moses holds the whole divine revelation, but it will be disclosed to the Sages from time to time. About this latter point, Elijah also has knowledge of the transcendent, because he surpasses human mind, and God has allowed him to know the things of Heaven. Both Moses and Elijah have a distinct relationship with God, because they are close to the transcendent. Thus, while rabbinic tales of Moses are very close to the biblical story, Elijah is different because rabbinic tales of Elijah emphasize supernatural roles. Elijah resolves halakhic questions among the Sages, he performs miracles, or he appears in other guises and he knows the secrets of God. Moses and Elijah have similar experiences especially on the Sinai, but Elijah seems to be a kind of mystical figure in rabbinic tales. On the contrary in the biblical tales he manifests himself as a zealous prophet.

5.4. Moses and Elijah in the Babylonian Talmud

5.4.1. Introduction

The Babylonian Talmud⁴³⁴ is a combined effort of generations because the oral and written transmission are featured. According to Rabbi Adin Even-Israel Steinsaltz, “the study of the Talmud is the gate through which a Jew enters his life’s path”.⁴³⁵ This Talmud was redacted by Amora’im between 500-800 C.E. in Babylon, in which the most important Jewish communities were settled especially in Hutzal, Meḥoza, Neharde’a, Pumbedita and Sura. According to tradition, the community of Neharde’a was existent from the time of the First Temple, and many Tanna’im visited it. This town was destroyed in 259 C.E. and the community moved to Pumbedita. It was an important centre of Sages until the geonic time. Also, Sura was an eminent Yeshiva until the geonic time. This community was influenced by the halakhic tradition of Eretz Yisrael.⁴³⁶

In the Talmudic text, the Gemara presents an argument and then discusses it. For that reason, the Gemara raises a question, a doubt, an explanation, and then answers it through the Torah, or with the opinion of the Sages that follow each other over time. However, the Gemara also tries to support one or more arguments against more objections that could have been raised.

According to G. Stemberger⁴³⁷ as written in *b. Bava Metzi’a* 85a, the expression “Gemara’ Babelah” גמרא בבלי is not current in the talmud but it is a general doctrine of the Amoraic era. However, Talmud can be considered a Babylonian comment of the Mishna. In the amoraic era, as argued by J.L. Rubenstein,⁴³⁸ small groups of Sages studied together in circles of disciples. These Sages left their homes and wives to study the Torah. From the fifth to the sixth centuries these Sages organized themselves in academies of study.

D. Weiss Halivni⁴³⁹ affirms that in Talmud there are three literary stratum composed by the first group of Sages that are the Amora’im (*memrot*), then the second group that are the Stamma’im (*setam*) and finally the third group that are the Sabora’im (*savora*) that received the Talmud in a complete form and they inserted some explanations. The word *setam* means anonymous, because the Stamma’im anonymously reconstructed and completed the argumentations that were previously forgotten. The stammaitic era covers a period of two centuries, until the second half of the eighth

⁴³⁴ In this work I use the Koren Talmud Babylonian Talmud (תלמוד בבלי), commentary by Rabbi Adin Even-Israel STEINSALTZ, T. HERSH WEINREB – S. Z. BERGER – J. SCHREIER, ed., (Jerusalem, 2012-2017).

⁴³⁵ Tractate Berakhot, Introduction, xii.

⁴³⁶ Rabbi A.E.I. STEINSALTZ, *Reference Guide to the Talmud* (Jerusalem, 2014) 43-45.

⁴³⁷ G. STEMBERGER, *Introduzione al Talmud e al Midrash* (Roma, 1995) 265.

⁴³⁸ J.L. RUBENSTEIN, *The Culture of the Babylonian Talmud* (Baltimore, 2005) 1-3.

⁴³⁹ D. WEISS HALIVNI, *The Formation of the Babylonian Talmud* (New York, 2013) 3-4, 9.

century, because as above, the Sabora'im were identified with the Stamma'im. D. Weiss Halivni supposes that the Stamma'im succeeded after Rav Ashi and Ravina that were the last amoraic generation. The Stamma'im had an important role in the Talmud and they might be considered the editors of the Talmud. The Amora'im had not organized their work of compilation, they were similar to the Tanna'im that put together collections of baraitot without distinguishing apodictic laws and dialectical argumentations.⁴⁴⁰ The Stamma'im made a precious work of building and they were very careful to handle the writings of the Amora'im. They respected amoraic texts and created a context for them, corrected the form and understood what the amora meant to say.⁴⁴¹ As J.L. Rubenstein⁴⁴² argued, recent research attests that the Stamma'im brought a contribution not only to halakhic material, but also to the aggadic portion of the Talmud.

However, D. Weiss Halivni⁴⁴³ also explains that apart from the Stamma'im Compilers and Transposers were present that contributed to the final redaction of the Talmud. According to D.W. Halivni there were two types of Compilers: the first took over at the beginning, and then they cooperated at the closure of the Talmud. The second type, after the closure of the Talmud, was engaged to transfer dialectic argumentations from one sugya to another. Compilers were operative between the stammaitic and the saboraic era (730-770 C.E.). Instead, the role of the Transposers was different because they moved through out generations and dialectic argumentations were transferred from one context to another. Moreover, Compilers worked in a talmud that was split among different houses of study, instead Transposers examined a unified talmud and introduced some parts where needed.

5.4.2. Some aspects of Moses in the Babylonian Talmud

5.4.2.1. Megillah 13a

רבי שמעון בן פזי כי הוה פתח בדברי הימים אמר הכי כל דבריך אחד הם ואנו יודעי לדורשן ואשתו היהודי ילד את ירד אבי גדור ואת חבר אבי סוכו ואת יקותיאל אבי זנוח אלה בני בתיה בת פרעה אשר לקח מרד. אמאי קרי לה יהודית על שום שכפרה בעבודה זרה דכתיב ותרד בת פרעה לרחוץ על היאור ואמר רבי יוחנן שירדה לרחוץ מגילולי בית אביה. ילדה והא רבויי רביתי לומר לך שכל המגדל יתום ויתומה בתוך ביתו מעלה עליו הכתוב כאלו ילדו. ירד זה משה ולמה נקרא שמו ירד שירד להם לישראל מן בימיו גדור שגדר פרצותיהן של ישראל חבר שחיבר את ישראל לאביהן שבשמים סוכו שנעשה להם לישראל כסוכ יקותיאל שקוו ישר לאל בימיו זנוח שהזניח עונותיהן של ישראל. אבי אבי אבי בתורה אב בחכמה אב בנביאות.

⁴⁴⁰ D. WEISS HALIVNI, *The Formation of the Babylonian Talmud* (New York, 2013) 9.

⁴⁴¹ D. WEISS HALIVNI, *The Formation of the Babylonian Talmud* (New York, 2013) 26.

⁴⁴² J.L. RUBENSTEIN, *The Culture of the Babylonian Talmud* (Baltimore, 2005) 5.

⁴⁴³ D. WEISS HALIVNI, *The Formation of the Babylonian Talmud* (New York, 2013) 161-163.

When Rabbi Shimon ben Pazi opened the book of the Chronicles he said: all of your words are one, and we know how explain them. His wife HaYeudiyya bore Jered father of Gedor and Heber father of Soco, and Jekuthiel father of Zanoah. These are the sons of Bithia daughter of Pharaoh who took Mered. Why is she called Yehudiyya? She renounced to serve profuse gods as written: “The daughter of the Pharaoh come down to bathe at the river (Nile)” (Exod 2:5). And Rabbi Yoḥanan said: she comes down to wash herself from the idols of the house of her father. She bore, saw and raised Moses, saying to you that someone brings up an orphan boy or girl, as it is written: she gave birth to him. Jered said: this is Moses who was called with this name because the manna came down (Yarad) for Israel in these days. Gedor said: because he fenced (Gedar) the breaches of Israel. Heber said: because he linked (Hibber) Israel to his Father on the Heaven. Soco said: because he was an edge (Sukka) for Israel. Jekuthiel said: because Israel hoped in God for his days. Zanoah said: because he rejected the iniquity of Israel. My Father, my Father, my Father. Father in the Torah, father in wisdom and father in the prophecy.

According to this text, Rabbi Shimon ben Pazi gives us an interpretation about the term Yehudi which has resemblance with the word *yihudi*. The latter indicates one who repudiates idolatry, because he has faith in the uniqueness of God. Rabbis try to explain that Bithiah, the daughter of the Pharaoh, is a Yehudiyya because when she went down to wash in the river (Exod 2:5), she repudiated the idols of her father. Rabbi Yoḥanan affirms that in the river she washed herself to purify herself from idolatry. The Gemara asks⁴⁴⁴ how it is possible that the daughter of the Pharaoh bore Moses. Indeed, Moses was found in the river, but whoever raises an orphan in her house is as if she gave birth to him. Then, the Gemara explains this quotation:

ואשתו היהדיה ילדה את־ירד אבי גדור ואת־חבר אבי שוכו ואת־יקותיאל אבי זנלה ואלה בני בתיה בת־פרעה אשר לקח מרד
 “His wife Jeudijah bore Jered the father of Gedor, Heber the father of Sochoh, and Jekuthiel the father of Zanoah. And these were the sons of Bithiah the daughter of the Pharaoh, whom Mered took”, (1 Chr 4:18). All these names are referred to Moses. Indeed Moses was called “Jered” concerning the manna (*yarad*) that came down in the desert; “Gedor” because he fenced in (*gadar*) the breaches of Jewish people; “Heber” because he connected (*hibber*) the people to their Father of the Heaven; “Sochoh” because he was a shelter (*sukka*) for his people Israel; “Jekuthiel” because the Jewish people trusted in God (*kivu laEl*) and lastly Moses was called “Zanoah” because he caused the iniquity of Jewish people to be disregarded (*hizniah*). With all these epithets Moses appears with all his facets. The Gemara also notes and explains that in these verses of the Talmud, the expression “father of” appears three times because Moses is emphasised as a father in the Torah, father in wisdom and father in prophecy for the Jewish people. All these peculiarities portray Moses as a model of a Sage, because

⁴⁴⁴ The Gemara suggests interrogatives because it searches for an answer or a reason that cause everything.

often between teacher and student there is a relationship of mutual affiliation that seems to recall the relationship between father and son.⁴⁴⁵

5.4.2.2. Soṭah 12a

ותרא אותו כי טוב הוא תניא ר' מאיר אומר טוב שמו רבי יהודה או' טוביה שמו ר' נחמיה או' הגון לנביאות אחרים אומר נולד כשהוא מהול וחכמים אומרים בשעה שנולד משה נתמלא הבית כולו אור כתב הכא ותרא אתו כי טוב הוא וכתב התם וירא אלהים את האור כי טוב

She saw the sign that he was good. Rabbi Meir told: Tov is his name. Rabbi Yeduda says: Toviya is his name. Rabbi Neḥemiah says: he was eligible to the prophecy. Other people say: when was born, he was circumcised. The Sages say: in the meantime Moses was born, all the house was filled with light as written here: “he saw that he was good” as written: “God saw the light that it was good” (Gen 1:4).

This baraita, is tied to the previous one because the dispute about the names of Moses is continued, and Rabbi Meir affirms that the real name of Moses is *tov* (good), because when he was born, his parents assigned him this name. In Exodus it is written:

ותהר האשה ותלד בן ותרא אתו כי טוב הוא ותצפנהו שלשה ירחים

“The woman conceived and bore a son; and when she saw that he (was) a beautiful (child) (טוב), she hid him three months”, (2:2). The discussion between the Rabbis is grounded on the adjective “*tov*”. Rabbi Yehuda asserts that the name of Moses was Tobiyah, “God is good”. Instead, Rabbi Neḥemyah argues that “*tov*” justifies that Moses was good and able to be a prophet. Other people said that he was good because he was born already circumcised. The Rabbis affirm that he was “*tov*” because when he was born the house was filled with light and like in the history of the creation: וירא אלהים את האור כי טוב “God saw the light that it was good (*tov*)”, (Gen 1:4).

5.4.2.3. Soṭah 12b

ותאמר אחותו אל בת פרעה האלך וקראתי לך אשה מינקת מן העבריות ומאי שנא מעבריות. מלמד שהחזירוהו למשה על כל המצריות כולן ולא ינק אמר פה שעתיד לדבר עם השכינה ינק דבר טמא והיינו דכתיב את מי יורה דיעה וגומר ולמי יורה דעה ולמי יבין שמועה לגמולי מחלב ולעתיקי משדים.

⁴⁴⁵ C. HEZSER, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen, 1997) 343.

His sister said (of Moses) to the daughter of the Pharaoh: I will go and I will call a Hebrew nurse for you. What is the difference from the Hebrew women? This teaches that they go around to Moses to provide for an Egyptian nurse, but Moses disagreed and said: Could a mouth that is prepared to speak to the Shekinah feed on blameless word? It is written: “Whom will he teach knowledge? And whom will he make to understand the message? “Those just weaned from the milk? Those just drawn from the breasts” (Isa 28:9).

The Gemara now discusses this verse: ותאמר אחתו אל־בת־פרעה האלֶךְ וקראתי לך אשר מינקת מן העברית ותינק לך את־הילד “his sister (of the child) said to Pharaoh’s daughter, ‘Shall I go and call a wet-nurse for you from the Hebrew women. A nurse the child for you?’”, (Exod 2:7). The Gemara asks for what reason the daughter of the Pharaoh prefers a Hebrew nurse. The Gemara answers that Moses preferred a Hebrew wet nurse because he did not agree with an Egyptian wet nurse. He said that his mouth must be pure because in the future he shall speak with the Shekinah. It is written: את־מי יורה דעה ואת־מי “Whom will he teach knowledge? And whom will he make to understand the message?”, (Isa 28:9).

This last reference is a question that the prophet asks himself: to whom God will teach the knowledge of the Torah? And to whom shall God make this message understood? The answer is: “Those weaned from milk and drawn from the breast”, (Isa 28:9). Therefore Moses will be appointed to fulfil this task.

The questions that the Gemara raises often find an answer in the Torah, and these questions raise new perspectives because as above Moses has a specific calling for the people of Israel and everything finds a justification. Through the Torah, it is declared that Moses will be appointed to speak with the Shekinah and his mouth must be pure for this future event.

5.4.2.4. Shabbat 88b-89b

ואמר רבי יהושע בן לוי בשעה שעלה משה למום אמרו השרת לפני הקדוש ברוך הוא רבוננו של עולם מה לילוד אשה בינינו אמר להן לקבל תורה בא אמרו לפניו חמודה גנוזה שגנוזה לך תשע מאות ושבעים דורות קודם שנבוא העולם אתה מבקש לברש ודם מה אנוש כי תזכרנו ובן אדם כי תפקדנו הי אדנינו מה אדיר שמך בכל הארץ אשר תנה הודך על השמים. אמר לו הקדוש הוא למשה החזיר להן תשובה אמר לפניו רבוננו של עולם מתיירא אני שמא ישרפוני בהבל שבפיהם אמר לו אחוז בכסא צבודי וחזור להן תשובה שנאמר מאחז גני כסא פרשו עלי עננו ואמר רבי נחום מלמד שפירש שדי מזיו שכינתו ועננו עליו אמר לפניו רבוננו של עולם תורה שאתה נותן לי מה כתיב בה אנכי הי אלהיך אשר הוצאתיך מארץ מצרים אמר להן למצרים ירדתם לפרעה השתעבדתם תורה למה תהא לכם שוב מה כתיב בה לא יהיה לך אלהים אחרים בין הגוים אתם שרויין שעובדין. עבודת גלולים שוב מה כתיב בה זכור את יום השבת לקדשו כלום אתם עושים מלאכה שאתם צריכין שבות שוב מה כתיב בה לא תשא משא ומתן יש ביניכם שוב מה כתיב בה כבד את אביך ואת אמך אב ואם יש לכם שוב מה כתיב בה לא תרצח לא תנאף לא תגנב קנאה יש ביניכם יצר הרע יש ביניכם מיד הודו לו להקדוש ברוך הוא שנאמר הי אדנינו מה אדיר שמך וגו ואליו תנה הודך על השמים לא כתבי. מיד כל אחד ואחד נעשה לו אוהב ומסר לו דבר שנאמר עלית למרום שבית שבי לקחת מתנות באדם בשכר שקראוך אדם לקחת מתנות אף מלאך המות מסר לו דבר שנאמו ויתן את הקטרת ויכפר על העם ואומר ויעמד בין המתים ובין החיים וגוי אי לאו דאמר ליה מי הוה ידע. ואמר רבי

יהושע בן לוי בשעה שירד משה מלפני הקדוש ברוך הוא בא שטן ואמר לפניו רבונו של עולם תורה היכן היא אמר לו נתתיה לארץ הלך אצל ארץ אמר לה תורה היכן היא אמרה לו אלוים הבין דרכה וגו' הלך אצל ים ואמר לו אין עמדי הלך אצל תהום אמר לו אין בי שנאמר תהום אמר לא בי היא וים אמר אין עמדי אבדון ומות אמרו באזנינו שמענו שמעיהי חזר ואמר לפני הקדוש ברוך הוא רבונו של עולם היפשתי בכל הארץ ולא מצאתיה אמר לו לך אצל בן עמרם. הלך אצל משה אמר לו תורה שנתן לך הקדוש ברוך הוא היכן היא אמר לו וכי מה אני שנתן לי הקדוש ברוך הוא תורה אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא למשה משה בדאי אתה אמר לפניו ובונו של עולם חמודה גנוזה יש לך שאתה משתעשע בה בכל יום אני אחזיק טובה לעצמי אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא למשה הואיל ומיעטת עצמך תקרא על שמך שנאמר זכרו תורת משה עבדי וגו'.

Rabbi Yehoshua ben Levi said: Moses listened and ascended on the high and the ministry of the Angels said before the Holy One Blessed be He: Master of the Universe, what is one born of woman among us? He said to them: He is coming to receive the Torah. Angels said before Him: Why did You search to give to him (Moses) who is made of flesh and blood, the treasure that You have hidden for 974 generations before the creation of the world? What is man that You are mindful of him, and the son of man that You visit him? (Ps 8:5). Behold God our Lord how is glorious Your name in all the Earth, because You covered the Heavens with Your splendour.

The Holy One Blessed be He said to Moses: Instruct them with an answer. Moses said before Him: Master of the Universe, I am afraid because they burn me with their mouths. God said to him: You acquire my throne of glory and you provide them an answer. It is said: He covers the face of His throne and spreads His cloud over it (Job 26:9). Rabbi Nahum said: this verse that God spreads His Shekinah and His cloud over Moses. He said before Him: Master of the Universe what is written in the Torah that You give to me? "I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of the Egypt" (Exod 20:2). Moses said to the Angels: Did you descend from the Egypt? Did you serve the Pharaoh? Why should the Torah be yours? Again, what it is written in it? "You shall have no other gods" (Exod 20:3). Do you dwell among the people who worship idols? Again Moses said: What is written? "Honour your father and your mother" (Exod 20:12). Have you got a father and a mother? Again, what is written? "Do not murder; do not be adulterous; do not steal." Is there jealousy among you? Is there an evil inclination within you? Immediately they agreed with the Holy One Blessed be He as it is written: "How excellent is Your name" (Ps 8:10), "His Majesty is above the Heavens" is not written.

Everyone of them immediately, became an admirer of Moses and transmitted to him a message as stated: "You have ascended on high; you have led captivity captive, you have received gifts among men" (Ps 68:19). In reward for the fact that they called you man, you took the gifts.

Even the Angel of Death transmits him a word as stated: "He put in the incense and made atonement for the people (Numb 17:12). The verse said: "He will stand between the dead and the living" (Numb 17:13). If you (the Angel of Death) would not tell it, would he have known it?

Rabbi Yehoshua ben Levi said: while Moses descended from standing before the Holy One Blessed be He, came Satan and said before Him: Master of the Universe, is the Torah here? He said to him: It was given to the Earth. Walking for the Earth he told: is the Torah here? He said to him: "God understands its way" (Job 28:23). He walked towards the sea and it told him: it is not with me. He walked towards the depths, and it told him: it is not with me. As stated: "Destruction and death say: "We have heard a report about it with our ears" (Job 28:22). Satan returned before the Holy One Blessed be He and said: Master of the Universe, I searched in the Earth but I did not find it. He said him: Go to the son of Amram.

He went to Moses and said to him: the Torah that the Holy One Blessed be He gave you, is it here? He said to him: And what am I that the Holy One Blessed be He would have given the Torah to me? The Holy One Blessed be He said to Moses: Moses are you an inventor? He said before Him: Master of the Universe, desirable and precious are being with you, every day my delight is in you. I will be strong, good and powerful. The Holy One Blessed be He said to Moses: because you took advice from yourself, you will be called with your name as stated: “Remember the Torah of Moses My servant” (Mal 3:22).

The figure of Moses is emphasized in this text; Moses stays with the angels in front of God. Angels are curious to know how it is possible that among them there is a man born to a woman. Thus the Lord explains to them that Moses received the Torah, the same Torah that was concealed before the creation of the world. The angels are unable to understand the choice of God, because Moses is a man and as it is written מה־אנוש כִּי־תזכרנו “what is man that You are mindful of him”, (Ps 8:5). After this initial exchange of words between the angels and the Lord, a dialogue begins between Moses and the angels.

The Lord Himself demands Moses to provide to the angels the reasons why the Torah should be given to him and to the people. The Lord invites Moses to be submitted to His glory and also to grasp His throne of glory for strength and protection. Rabbi Naḥum explains this concept quoting Job 26:9 in which it is taught that God spreads His glory, His presence and His cloud upon Moses. After it, a digression begins about the history of Israel in which Moses asks the angels in which way they accomplish the rules that God gave Israel. At the end of this dialogue the angels agree with God and His decision to give the Torah to the people.

Angels admire Moses and they assert that the Torah is pertinent to Moses who takes some gifts from the angels, and also the Angel of Death gave him something because Moses was able to send the plagues upon the Egyptians (Numb 17:12-13). Rabbi Yehoshua ben Levi continues this dispute affirming that when Moses descended from the Presence of the Lord, with the Torah, also Satan went to the Lord and asked Him about the Torah. Satan has always been the prosecutor against mankind. The Lord informed Satan that the Torah is on the earth and he can find it there, but Satan asked uselessly the earth, the sea, and in the depths. Satan returned before the Lord who declared that the Torah is Moses son of Amram. To this point there is an interesting dialogue between Moses and God about the Torah, because Satan asks Moses if he has the Torah, but Moses answers that he is unworthy to have the Torah. God felt that Moses was a humble man, and He decided that the Torah will be called with the name of Moses as written in Malachi 3:22:

זכרו תורת משה עבדי אשר צויתי אותו בחרב על־כל־ישראל חקים ומשפטים

“Remember the Torah of Moses My servant which I commanded him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgements”. The whole pericope of the tractate Shabbat is most important because Moses is described as a man similar to an angel in which also Satan is subjected to him on account of the Lord. The figure of Moses is so important that God decides to call the Torah with the name of Moses. God is aware that Moses is a humble man and faithful one, and He delivers the Torah to Moses rather than the angels. It is interesting to note that also Satan is submitted by Moses as ordered by God.

According to rabbinic tradition, angelic figures have different roles in Jewish life, because they are intermediaries between God and human beings. However, as argued by D. Fass,⁴⁴⁶ in this story angels are an obstacle between God and Moses, in fact God warns Moses to pay attention to the angels. These figures have not evil inclinations, and they are morally inferior to men. For that reason, God delivers the Torah to Moses, and for that motive for God, men are more precious than angels, in fact a righteous man will be near the throne of God more than an angel.⁴⁴⁷

5.4.2.5. Rosh HaShanah 21b

רב ושמואל חד אמר חמשים שערי בינה נבראו בעולם וכולן ניתנו למשה חסר אחד שנאמר ותחסרהו מעט מאלקים. ביקש קהלת למצוא דברי חפץ ביקש קהלת להיות כמשה. וחד אמר בנביאים לא קם במלכים קם אלא מה אני מקים בקש קהלת למצוא דברי חפץ בקש קהלת לדון דינין שבלב שלא בעדים ושלא בהתראה יצתה בת קול ואמרה לו וכתוב יושר דברי אמת על פי שנים עדים וגו'.

Rav and Shmuel, one of them said: Fifty gates were built and created in the world, and all of them were given to Moses as stated: “You have made him a little lower than the angels” (Ps 8:6). “Kohelet sought to find acceptable words” (Eccl 12:10). Kohelet sought to be like Moses, but a Divine Voice said to him: “And what was written was upright words of truth” (Eccl 12:10). And there has not arisen in Israel a prophet like Moses (Deut 34:10). One said: among the prophets did not arise, among the king was arisen. How do I support: Kohelet sought to find delight words? Kohelet sought the judgment of the heart without witness and without warning. A Divine Voice burnt and said to him: Who wrote these words of truth with honesty? Upon the mouths of two witness.

According to the previous quotation, also in this Tractate the figure of Moses is emphasized, and he has full knowledge in respect of other biblical personages. There is a dispute between Rav and

⁴⁴⁶ D. FASS, “How The Angels Do Serve,” *Judaism* 40/3 (1991) 284.

⁴⁴⁷ D. FASS, “How The Angels Do Serve,” *Judaism* 40/3 (1991) 283.

Shmuel⁴⁴⁸ about a matter relating to the verse of Psalm 12:7 in which it is affirmed that the words of the Lord are pure words, purified seven times.

One of these Rabbis argues that fifty gates of understanding were created in the world and all of them, except one, were given to Moses. These fifty gates could allude to Shavuot or the Year of Jubilee in which human comprehension surpasses the Divine sphere, because the expression “seven times seven” recalls the fullness that transcends our world.

Only Moses should have this full knowledge because “Kohelet sought to find delight words”, (Qo 12:10) and he did not like Moses. For that reason, it is written: אשר ידעו “Never arisen in Israel a prophet like Moses, whom knew the Lord face to face”, (Deut 34:10).

The dispute continues because other Rabbis asserted that among the prophets only Moses was great but not among the kings because “Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord as king”, (1 Chr 29:23).

According to E. Segal,⁴⁴⁹ the redactor presents the dispute as an exegetical work which is a particularity of the Talmud. The dispute alleges that Solomon like Moses, reached the same spiritual level of understanding of the Torah. E. Segal affirms that this dispute has unexpressed eloquence because the first problem are the fifty gates whose meanings is not explained. However, these fifty gates could be pertinent intellectual abilities of Moses. Indeed, Moses is the only great prophet in Israel (Deut 34:10) and Solomon is a great king in wisdom. This latter point shows us that in the Talmud, Moses emerges compared to Solomon. E. Segal opines that this sugya implies the relation between prophecy and wisdom in the light of the Torah, using the figures of Moses and Solomon. According to E. Segal, Solomon, concerning the tale of two harlots (1 Kgs 3:16-28), in his wisdom, “Khelet sought to find delight words; and what (was) written was upright words of truth”, (Eccl 12:10). And “he failed to achieve perfect understanding”.⁴⁵⁰

5.4.2.6. Nedarim 38a

אמר רבי יוסי ברבי חנינא לא ניתנה תורה אלא למשה ולזרעו שנאמר כתב לך פסול לך מה פסולתן שלך אף כתבן שלך משה נהג בה טובת עין ונתנה לישראל ועליו הכתוב אומ' טוב עין הוא יבורך וגו'. מתיב רב חסדא ואותי צוה ה' בעת ההיא ללמד אתכם ואותי צוה ואני לכם ראי למדתי אתכם חוקים ומשפטים כאשר צוה ה' אלהי' אותי צו' ואני לכם. ועתה כתבו לכם את השירי' הזאת השירה לחודה למען תהיה לי השירה הזאת לעד בבני ישראל אלא פילפולא בעלמא.

⁴⁴⁸ These two Sages are Amora'im and in their disputes the Halakha is in accordance with Rav in matter of ritual law, instead with Shmuel in matter of civil law.

⁴⁴⁹ E. SEGAL, *From Sermon to Commentary: Expounding The Bible in Talmudic Babylonia* (Waterloo, 2005) 56-57.

⁴⁵⁰ E. SEGAL, *From Sermon to Commentary: Expounding The Bible in Talmudic Babylonia* (Waterloo, 2005) 58.

Rabbi Yosei ben Rabbi Ḥanina said: The Torah was given to Moses and his descendants because as it is stated: “Write these words” (Exod 34:27). “Hew for you” (Exod 34:1). What hew for you? Just as for you. Moses treated with good delight, and his eyes gave to Israel. It is written: “He who has a generous eye will be blessed” (Prov 22:9). According to Rav Ḥisda: In that time God commanded me to teach you. He commanded me, and I to you. I taught laws and statutes as God commanded me (Deut 4:5). The Lord commanded me and I to you. “Now therefore write down this song for yourself” (Deut 31:19). This song shall be for me a witness for the children of Israel (Deut 31:19). Merely profound analysis.

Now the Rabbis again debate about the Torah of Moses, Rabbi Yosei son of Rabbi Ḥanina asserts that the Torah was given to Moses and his descendants, in the meaning that Moses received the Torah and he thought appropriate to give it to his descendants. However, Rav Ḥisda raised an objection because according to Deuteronomy 4:14, the Lord commanded Moses to teach the Torah to the people, but the Gemara argues that the Lord consigned the Torah to Moses and then he decided to teach it to the people.

To confirm this assertion, the Gemara cites: “ראה למדתי אתכם ומשפטים כאשר צוני יהוה אלהי” “See you, I have taught you statutes and judgements, just as the Lord my God commanded me”, (Deut 4:5). The Gemara answers citing another verse: “ועתה כתבו לכם את השירה הזאת ולמדו את בני ישראל” “Now, write you this song for yourself and teach it to the children of Israel”, (Deut 31:19). According to this verse Moses should have taught only the poem to people, but the Gemara continues citing this verse “put it in their mouths, that this song may be a witness for Me against the children of Israel”, (Deut 31:19). In this debate once again the character of Moses is emphasized because Rabbi Yosei son of Rabbi Ḥanina affirmed that the Torah was given only to Moses not only for him but also for the people of Israel. However according to the Rabbi, Moses had the profound knowledge of the Torah and he decides to teach this knowledge to the people. In this baraita Moses is labelled a “Good Eye”. According to B. Kern-Ulmer,⁴⁵¹ this later expression jointly to an “Evil Eye” have several meanings in rabbinic literature. Because he who has an Evil Eye is not always a wicked person, in fact this expression is used in the tale of Rabbi Shimon and his son Rabbi Eliezer. It is accounted that they emerged from the cave after twelve years of hiding from Romans, and Rabbi Eleazar, seeing the immoral world, decided to burn down everything with his eyes until God intervened to save the world (*b. Šabb.* 33b). However, in another tale, the Rabbis used their eyes in cases in which the righteous can reduce the evil (*b. Ned.* 7b). In opposition to have a Good Eye implies to be blessed as written: “טוב־עין הוא יִבְרַךְ כִּי־נָתַן מִלֶּחֶמוֹ לְדָל” “He who has a generous eye will be blessed, for he gives of his bread to the poor”, (Prov 22:9).

⁴⁵¹ B. KERN-ULMER, “The Power of the Evil Eye and the Good Eye in Midrashic Literature,” *Judaism* 40/3 (1991) 345.

B. Kern-Ulmer⁴⁵² explains that according to a midrashic exegesis, man who has a Good Eye becomes Moses and the bread becomes the Torah. Moreover, in Proverbs 22:9, the Hebrew terms *yevorakh* (passive sense) “shall be blessed”, should be read *yevorekh* (in active sense) becoming “will bless”. In this way, Moses has Good Eye and will bless Israel.

To continue this discourse about Moses, it is also written:

אמר רבי יוחנן אין הקדוש ברוך הוא משרה שכינתו אלא על גבור ועשיר וחכם ועניו וכולן ממשה

Rabbi Yoḥanan said: If the Holy One Blessed be He rests His Shekinah upon who is mighty and rich of wisdom, and humble, all of these are Moses.

Once again, the fervour of Moses for the Torah and his teaching are stressed. Moses surpasses the expectations of God, and the Gemara points out the behaviour of Moses, exalting his character.

5.4.2.7. Yoma 4b

אמר מר ויקרא אל משה משה וכל ישראל עומדין ולא בא הכתוב אלא לחלק לו כבוד למשה. מיתבי קול לו קול אליו משה שמע וכל ישראל לא שמטו לא קשיא הא בסני הא באהל מועד ואי בעית אימא לא קשיא הא בקריאה הא בדבור.

Eleazar the Master (Mar) said: “He called Moses.” Moses and all the Jewish people were standing. The Gemara supports the opinion of Rabbi Eleazar, as Rabbi Eleazar said: He called Moses. It means that Moses and all Jewish people were standing and it was written to give honor to Moses. (The Gemara) raises an objection: The voice (speaking) “unto” him. The voice of the Lord (speaking) “unto” him (in the sense that the voice of God reached only Moses), Moses heard and all Jewish people did not hear it. It was not difficult, (it recalls the case in which the people heard the voice of God on the Sinai, instead the case in which only Moses heard the voice of God was in the Tent of the Meeting). If you wish to say: it is not difficult. (When God) Calling (Moses everyone heard, but when God) and speaking with him (Moses, only him heard His words).

In these other disputes there is a rabbinic detail about Moses and God. In reference to the expression *ויקרא אל־משה* “And He called to Moses”, (Exod 24:16), the Master⁴⁵³ argues that God called Moses and all of Jewish people that were standing and listening. The Gemara suggests that this assertion is favourable to the opinion of Rabbi Eleazar. Indeed, Rabbi Eleazar affirms that Moses was called by the Lord because even though the people were with Moses, they did not hear the voice of God, but they listened to a sound, while Moses heard his name. Yet, according to Rabbi Eleazar, all the Jewish

⁴⁵² B. KERN-ULMER, “The Power of the Evil Eye and the Good Eye in Midrashic Literature,” *Judaism* 40/3 (1991) 347.

⁴⁵³ In this case the name is not specified, but usually this appellation is used to designate an Exilarch.

people heard the voice of God but did not understand what the voice said. The Gemara continues the dispute affirming that in the Torah it is written that when Moses was in the Tent of Meeting, the Lord spoke unto him”, (Numb 7:89). This statement is an objection to Rabbi Eleazar because the verse specifies that the voice spoke “unto” Moses. The use of “unto” and not “to” means that the voice arrived only to Moses and not to the people. Still the Gemara answers that on the Sinai, Moses and the people heard the voice of God, but in the Tent of Meeting the voice arrived only to Moses because when God calls Moses everyone hears, but when God speaks to Moses only, he hears the voice.

Once again, in the Talmud the figure of Moses and his senses are emphasized, because he has a different perception of God. With some puns the distinction between Moses and the Jewish people is stressed, and God accomplishes his deeds imperceptibly.

5.4.2.8. Nedarim 31b-32a

תניא רבי יהושע בן קרחה אומר גדולה מילה שכל רכיות שעשה משה רבינו לא עמדו לו כשנתרשל מן המילה שנאמר ויפגשוהו הי ויבקש המיתו. אמר רבי חס ושלום רבינו נתרשל מן המילה אלא כך אמר אמול ואצא סכנה היא שנאמר ויהי ביום השלישי בהיותם כאבים וגו אמול ואשהא שלשה ימים הקדוש ברוך הוא אמר לי לך שב מצרים אלא מפני מה נענש משה. מפני שבתעסק במלון תחלה שנאמר ויהי בדרך במלון. רבן שמעון בן גמליאל אומר לא למשה רבינו בקש שטן להרוג אלא לאותו תינוק שנאמר צי חתן דמים אתה לי צא וראה מי קרוי חתן הוי אומר זה התינוק. דרש רבי יהודה בר ביזנא בשעה שנתרשל משה רבינו מן המילה באו אף וחימה ובלעוהו ולא שיירו ממנו אלא רגליו מיד ותקח כפרה כר ותכרת את ערלת בנה מיד וירף ממנו.

It is taught that Rabbi Yehoshua ben Korḥa said: it is so great the mitzvah of the circumcision that all merits that accomplished Moses our teacher, did not support him when he was negligent about circumcision as stated: “And the Lord met him and He sought to kill him” (Exod 4:24). Rabbi (Yehuda Ha Nasi) said: Heaven forbid that Moses our teacher failed on circumcision. It is that he said: circumcise and depart it is dangerous for him as stated: “Now it came to pass on the third day when they were in pain” (Gen 34:25). (It indicates that the pain for the circumcision is for several days and the child could be in danger). (However, Moses did not circumcise his child because if) I circumcise and waited three days the Holy One Blessed be He (could) said me: “Go, return to the Egypt” (Exod 4:19). (For these reasons Moses did not circumcise his child). But, for what reason was Moses punished? Because at the beginning he occupied himself, to find a place of lodging (when spend the night) as stated: He came in the place of encampment” (Exod 4:24). Rabban Shimon ben Gamliel said: Satan did not search to kill Moses our teacher, rather the infant near him as stated: “Surely you are a bridegroom of blood to me” (Exod 4:25). Go out and see who is called bridegroom. You say that he is the infant. Rabbi Yehuda bar Bizna taught: at the time Moses our teacher was negligent about the circumcision, (the angel named) Af and (the angel named) Ḥeima came and swallowed him and only his legs were left. “Zipporah took a sharp stone and cut off the foreskin of her son” (Exod 4:25). Immediately “He let him go” (Exod 4:26).

In this baraita Rabbi Yeoshua ben Korḥa argues that Moses accomplished all mitzvot, but he was negligent about the circumcision of his son, and for that “The Lord met him and sought to kill him”, (Exod 4:24). However, the Rabbis try to justify Moses and they raise a dispute.

In the above-mentioned text Rabbi Yehuda Ha Nasi⁴⁵⁴ asserts that Moses did not want to circumcise his son because they had to leave for a trip and the circumcision was dangerous as written “On the third day when they were in pain”, (Gen 34:25). It indicates that it was necessary to depart after three days from the circumcision because the child would have been in pain, otherwise Moses would have done the circumcision after the journey. According to Rav, Moses did not circumcise his son because usually God ordered him to depart immediately at any time. But why was Moses punished? Because he was occupied in searching for a lodging and did not circumcise his son. Rabban Shimon ben Gamliel argues that Satan did not want kill Moses but his son as written “She said: you are a husband of blood to me”, (Exod 4:25). This explanation allows us to understand that the circumcision is the first mitzvah to perform to every Jewish male. For this reason the infant is called “bridegroom”.

However, Rabbi Yehuda bar Bizna gave another explanation about the negligence of Moses, and he claimed that two angels came against Moses, Af that means “anger” and Ḥeima that means “wrath”. These angels swallowed Moses and “Zipporah took a sharp stone and cut off the foreskin of her son”, (Exod 4:25) and immediately “He let him go”,⁴⁵⁵ (Exod 4:26).

In this baraita the importance of the respect of the mitzvah circumcision is especially underlined. The Torah does not explain for whom Satan came, but the Rabbis try to justify Moses. According to S.D. KUNIN,⁴⁵⁶ this biblical tale is very enigmatic because in Jewish law only men can perform circumcision, in fact in the text of Avodah Zarah 27a of the Talmud, Moses or an agent performs the circumcision, because they complete what Zipporah begins. Instead A.J. HOWELL⁴⁵⁷ explains that this tale is a comparison with Passover because Zipporah cut off the foreskin of her son Gershom and then she signs his thighs with blood like the houses marked with Passover blood. A.J. Howell argues that Gershom is the firstborn of Moses and because he was not circumcised, he was a

⁴⁵⁴ According to the rabbinic tradition Rabbi Yehuda Ha Nasi is the redactor of the Mishnah. He is a tanna and he often defined in the Talmud as Rav (רב).

⁴⁵⁵ It is referred to the Lord who did not kill Moses.

⁴⁵⁶ S.D. KUNIN, “The Bridegroom of Bloom: A Structuralist Analysis,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 21/70 (1996) 9.

⁴⁵⁷ A.J. HOWELL, “The Firstborn Son of Moses as the ‘Relative of Blood’ in Exodus 4:24-26,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 35/1 (2010) 70.

foreigner and he was exposed to death. After his circumcision, the Angel of Death withdraws from him.

5.4.2.9. Shabbat 87a

שלשה דברים עשה משה מדעתו והסכים הקדוש ברוך הוא עמו הוסיף יום מדעתו ופירש מן האשה ושבר את הלוחות. ופירש מן האשה מאי דריש נשא קל וחומו בעצמו אמר ומה ישראל שלא דברה שכינה עמהן אלא שעה אחת וקבע להן זמן אמרה תורה והיו נכנים וגו אל תגשו אני שכל שעה ושעה שכינה מדברת עמי ואינו קובע לי זמן על אחת כמה וכמה ומנלן דהסכים הקדוש ברוך הוא על ידו דכתיב לך אמר להם שובו לכם לאהליכם וכתוב בתריה ואתה פה עמד עמדי ואית דאמרי פה אל פה אדבר בו.

Three words were given to Moses about his perception and the Holy One Blessed be He agreed with me. He added one day of his knowledge and he separated from his wife. And he broke the tables. He separated himself from his wife. What he searched? He supported his separation from his body and said: If Israel with whom the Shekinah is with them and it speaks all the time and set a specific time for them as stated the Torah: Be ready for the third day; do not come you are your wives (Exod 19:15). I shall have respect of the Shekinah and his pronunciations with me. I did not establish for me more time. Where we know that the Holy One Blessed be He agree with him? It is stated: “And you stand here by Me” (Deut 5:31). And someone says: “Mouth to mouth I speak with Him” (Numb 12:8).

In the Talmud, in two different contexts it is written that “Moses did three things based on his own perception”.⁴⁵⁸ Nevertheless, in this circumstance I prefer to propose the tractate Shabbat⁴⁵⁹ because the relationship between Moses and his wife is accentuated. First of all, it is necessary to explain what “the perception of Moses” means. God did not command Moses to do these three things, but according to Rashi and other Rabbis, Moses received the Divine approval because the Shekinah rested upon him. About Moses and his wife, Moses decides to separate himself from his wife after his personal inference. He interpreted that as well as God ordering to Israel, before meeting God, not to approach a woman (Exod 19:15). As Moses spoke with God many times, he must be separated from his wife. This perception of Moses is justified after the revelation on the Sinai, when the Lord said referring to the people: “Go, and say to them, ‘Return to your tents’”, (Deut 5:30) and then toward Moses: “And you stand here by Me”, (Deut 5:31). Moses cannot return to his wife, he had to stay with God to receive His instructions. God spoke with Moses mouth to mouth (Numb 12:8). In this case the perception of Moses agrees with that of the

⁴⁵⁸ *b. Šabb. 87a; b. Yebam. 62a.*

⁴⁵⁹ In this tractate there is a detailed explanation about Moses and his wife. Instead in *b. Yebam.* the context is different because the Sages dispute about the mitzvah “to be fruitful and multiply.” According to the Sages in this last case the perception of Moses is not based on the fact that he had two sons and he can stay with God because he accomplished the mitzvah. But, according to the Sages, Moses is an exceptional case.

Lord. N. Koltun-Fromm⁴⁶⁰ suggests that in this talmudic text Moses builds his *qal va homer* on his sexual renunciation. It implies that if the people of Israel must refrain from sexual needs because God must speak with them once, much more so Moses that often speaks with God “mouth to mouth”. However, N. Koltun-Fromm⁴⁶¹ continues affirming that in this text the quotation of Numbers 12:8 is strengthening of Deuteronomy 5:31 because it is a further reason of renunciation of the sexual needs of Moses. Indeed, Moses does not bring this decision from himself, but God directly instruct him.

5.4.2.10. Eruvin 54b

תנו רבנן כיצד משנה משה למד מפי הגבורה נכנס אהרן ושנה לו משה פירקו נסתלק אהרן וישב לשמאל משה נכנסו בניו ושנה להן משה פירקו נסתלקו בניו אלעזר ישב לימין משה ואיתמר לשמאל אהרן רבי יהודה אומר לעולם אהרן לימין משה חוזר נכנסו זקנים ושנה להן משה פירקו נסתלקו זקנים נכנסו כל העם ושנה להן משה פירקו נמצאו ביד אהרן ארבעה ביד בניו שלשה וביד הזקנים שנים כל העם אחד. נסתלק משה ושנה להן אהרן פירקו נסתלק אהרן שנו להן בניו פירקו נסתלקו בניו להן זקנים פירקו נמצאו ביד הכל ארבעה. מכאן אמר רבי אליעזר חייב אדם לשנות לתלמידו ארבעה פעמים וקל וחומר ומה אהרן שלמד משה ומשה מפי הגבורה כך הדיוט מפי הדיוט על אחת כמה וכמה.

The Sages taught: What was the true order of teaching? Moses learned by the mouth of the Almighty. Aaron entered and Moses taught him the lesson (that he had learned from God). Aaron came and sat to the left of Moses. The sons of Aaron entered, and Moses repeated them his lesson. Eleazar sat to the right of Moses and Itmar to the left of Aaron. Rabbi Yehuda said: Forever Aaron was sat to the right of Moses. The elders entered and Moses taught them his lesson. Therefore, Aaron had (heard) four times, his sons (heard it) three, the elders (heard it) twice and the people (heard it) once. Moses departed and Aaron repeated them the lesson (that he had learned from Moses). Aaron departed and his sons repeated the lesson (that they had heard from Aaron) to the elders. The sons departed and the elders repeated the lesson (that they had learned from the sons of Aaron). From here, Rabbi Eliezer said: one person is obliged to teach his students (his lesson) four times. Therefore if Aaron learned from Moses and Moses from the Almighty, in the same way an ordinary (student) from the mouth of an ordinary (priest). How much more so (he must review his studies four times).

In this baraita the order of teaching the Oral Law is discussed. According to the Tanna'im it is necessary to follow a pattern, because as well as Moses learning the Torah from the Almighty, Aaron sat before Moses while he taught his lesson. Then, Aaron sat to the left of Moses and he taught the sons of Aaron, while Aaron listened. Then, the sons of Aaron, Ithamar and Eleazar sat down near Moses and Aaron. Rabbi Yehuda disagrees with this tanna because according to him the seating arrangement was different: Aaron sat to the right of Moses, the elders of Israel listened to Moses to

⁴⁶⁰ N. KOLTUN-FROMM, “Zipporah’s Complaint: Moses is not Conscientious in the Deed!” in N. KOLTUN-FROMM ed., *Hermeneutics of Holiness* (New York, 2010) 189.

⁴⁶¹ N. KOLTUN-FROMM, “Zipporah’s Complaint: Moses is not Conscientious in the Deed!” in N. KOLTUN-FROMM ed., *Hermeneutics of Holiness* (New York, 2010) 190-191.

teach the Torah, then they moved aside and entered the nation of Israel to listen to Moses. In agreement with this account, Aaron heard the lesson four times, his sons three times, the elders twice and the nation once. It indicates that when Moses departed, Aaron taught the lesson that he had learned from Moses. When Aaron departed, his sons taught the lesson that they heard from Aaron. After their departure, the elders taught to the nation of Israel the lesson that they heard from the sons of Aaron. Therefore, everyone heard the lesson taught from God four times. In conclusion Rabbi Eliezer interprets that every person is obliged to teach the lesson to his students four times. Moreover, as Moses heard the lesson directly from the Almighty and Aaron heard the lesson from Moses, much more so a student must review his studies four times.

5.4.2.11. Eruvin 54b

רבי עקיבא אומר מנין שחייב אדם לשנות לתלמידו עד שילמדנו שנאמר ולמדה את בני ישראל ומנין עד שתהא סדורה בפיהם שנאמר שימה בפיהם. ומניין שחייב להראות לו פנים שנאמר ואלה המשפטים אשר תשים לפניהם. וליגמרו כולהו ממשה כדי לחלוק כבוד לאהרן ובניו וכבוד לזקנים. וניעול אהרן וניגמר ממשה וליעיילו בניו וליגמרו מאהרן וליעיילו זקנים ולילפו מבניו וליזלו וליגמרינהו לכולהו ישראל כיון דמשה מפי הגבורה גמר מסתייעא מלתיה.)

Rabbi Aqiva said: Where a person is obliged to repeat to his student until he learns? As stated: “Teach it to the children of Israel” (Deut 31:19). And from where (do we derive that one must teach his students until the material is) organized their two mouths? It is stated: “Put it in their mouth.” And from where (do we derive that a teacher must) show the reasons (for the teaching)? It is stated: “These are the judgments which you shall set before them” (Exod 21:1). They should all have studied from Moses (himself four times). (The teaching was divided) in order to give honour to Aaron and his sons, and to the elders. Aaron should enter and studied from Moses, the sons of Aaron, should enter and studied from Aaron, the elders should enter and studied from the sons of Aaron, and they should teach all of the Jewish people. Since Moses studied from the mouth of Almighty it would be effective (for everyone to hear the Torah at least once from Moses).

The dispute continues with Rabbi Aqiva that asked about teaching their students. It is written:

יעתה כתבו לכם את השירה הזאת ולמדה את בני ישראל שימה בפיהם למען תהיה לי השירה הזאת לעד בבני ישראל

“Write down this song for yourself and teach it to the children of Israel; put it in their mouths, that this song may be my witness for Me against the children of Israel”, (Deut 31:19).

In this verse it is ordered to teach the Torah to others, until they understand the lesson, and then it is important to put the Torah in their mouth so that they are able to teach it to other people. However, the Gemara asks in which way the Torah was taught; because it would have been appropriate to study directly from Moses. But the Torah was taught in a manner to give honour to Aaron, his sons and the

elders. Yet, because Moses studied the Torah directly from the mouth of the Lord, they would be favourable to study it at least once from Moses.

5.4.2.12. Qiddushin 33b

איבעיא להו מהו לעמוד מפני ספר תורה רבי חלקיה ורבי סימון ורבי אלעזר אמרי קל וחומר מפני לומדיה עומדים מפניה לא כל שכן. רבי אלעי ורבי יעקב בר זבדי הוו יתבי חליף ואזיל רבי שמעון בר אבא וקמו מקמיה אמר להו הדא דאתון חכימי ואנא חבר ועוד כלום תורה עומדת מפני לומדיה. סבר לה כרבי אלעזר דאמאר רבי עלעזר אין תלמיד חכם רשאי לעמוד מפני רבו בשעה שעוסק בתורה לייט עלה אביי. והביטו אחרי משה עד באו האהלה רבי אמי ורבי יצחק נפחא חד אמר לגנאי וחד אמר לשבח מאן דאמר לגנאי כדאיתא מאן דאמר לשבח אמר חזקיה. אמר לי רבי חנינא בריה דרבי אבהו אמר רבי אבהו אמר רבי אבדימי דמן חיפא חכם עובר עומד מלפיו ארבע אמות וכיון שעבר ארבע אמות יושב אב בית דין עובר עומד מלפניו מלא עיניו וכיון שעבר ארבע אמות יושב נשיא עובר עומד מלפניו מלא עיניו ואינו יושב עד שישב במקומו שנאמר והביטו אחרי משה עד באו האהלה.

A dilemma was raised: what is (the halakha rules when people) standing before the Torah? Rabbi Ḥilkiya and Rabbi Simon and Rabbi Eleazar said: standing before those who study it is not all the more so (like people standing before the Torah itself?). (The Gemara accounts) Rabbi Elai and Rabbi Ya'akov bar Zavdi were sat and Rabbi Shimon bar Abba passed before them and he went away while they were standing. He said to them: One that you are a scholar and I am an associate. Again, does the Torah stand before one student? In accordance with Rabbi Eleazar as Rabbi Eleazar said: There is not a wise student that stand before his teacher if he is occupied to study the Torah. Abaye cursed (anyone who acted in accordance with this ruling). "They watched Moses until he had gone into the Tent" (Exod 33:8). Rabbi Ami and Rabbi Yitzhak Nappala (disputed the interpretation) one said (that this is stated) unfavorably and one (that this is stated) favorably. What that said unfavorably (explains the verse) as it is. The one who said favorably (explains the verse in accordance with that) Hizkiyya says. Said Rabbi Ḥanina son of Rabbi Abbahu: Said Rabbi Abbahu that Rabbi Avdimi of Ḥaifa said: If a sage passing one stands before him four cubits, (if he is passing within) four cubits (from him) he sits. The president of Beth Din passing before him they watched the distance until four cubits, he sits. Nasi passing, one standing before him and looked, and he does not sit until (the Nasi) sits in his place, as it is stated: "They watched Moses until he had gone into the Tent."

In this dispute the behaviour that a person should have before a scroll of the Torah and before a Sage is discussed. The dilemma raised is what the halakha rules when a person is before a scroll of the Torah. According to the Sages it is necessary to stand up before the Torah even though a person is engaged in studying the Torah, and he remains standing until the Torah is out of his sight. However according to other Sages one person is obliged to stand up only before the Torah when it comes within four cubits.⁴⁶² In this context the Gemara recounts that one time Rabbi Elai and Rabbi Ya'akov bar

⁴⁶² The term "cubits" includes several different lengths. The origin of the measure is the distance between the elbow to the end of the middle finger. However, the common cubit is six handbreadth long (48 cm), but there are different scales and sometimes in the Talmud, this term is used to refer to other lengths.

Zavdi were sitting and studying the Torah, but when Rabbi Shimon bar Abba, passed before them, they immediately stood up. Rabbi Shimon bar Abba said to them that when a person studies the Torah he is not obliged to stand up because the Torah is before those that study it. The Gemara comments that Rabbi Shimon bar Abba as Rabbi Eleazar holds the opinion that when a scholar of the Torah is studying it, he is not obliged to stand up before his teacher because he is employed in honouring the Torah itself. However, the Gemara adds that Abaye cursed he who behaves in this way because it seems a disrespect towards his teacher. The Gemara continues to discuss the mitzvah explaining it according to the Torah, והיה כצאת משה אל־האהל יקומו כל־העם ונצבו איש פתח אהלו והביטו אחרי משה עד־באו האהלה

“So it was, whenever Moses went out to the Tent, all the people would rise and stand, each at the entrance of his tent, and gaze after Moses until he had entered the Tent”, (Exod 33:8).

There is a different interpretation of this verse between Rabbi Ami and Rabbi Yitzhak Nappaḥa. The Rabbis have unfavourable and favourable visions of this verse. The latter interprets this verse in accordance with Ḥizkiyya. Because for Ḥizkiyya there are different cases to perform this mitzvah as accounted by Rabbi Ḥanina, son of Rabbi Abbahu that said to Ḥizkiyya that Rabbi Avdimi of Haifa said that if a scholar of the Torah is passing, one must stand up before him only if the scholar is within four cubits from him, and then he can sit. If the president of the court is passing, he must stand up before him within four cubits and he can sit as soon as he is away from him. But, if the Nasi is passing, one stands up before him and he only sits down when the Nasi sits in his place, because the people stood before Moses until he had gone into the tent.

This text emphasizes the importance of Moses in the rabbinic world, but also the hierarchical structure that distinguishes the importance of the roles within Jewish society. Because the Nasi is the most important expert of the court or the Sanhedrin. However, when the title of Nasi had a political rather than halakhic meaning, he was the Head of the Yeshiva, or the Exilarch in Babylonia.

5.4.2.13. Zevaim 101b-102a

אמר רבי משה רבינו כהן גדול וחולק בקדשי שמים היה שנאמר מאיל המלאים למשה היה למנה. מיתבי לחם אלהיו מקדשי הקדשים ומן הקדשים יאכל אם נאמרו קדשי קדשים למה נאמר קדשים קלים ואם נאמרו קדשים קלים למה נאמר קדשי קדשים. מיתבי מרים מי הסגירה אם תאמר משה הסגירה משה זר הוא ואין זר רואה את הנגעים ואם תאמר אהרן הסגירה אהרן קרוב הוא ואין קרוב רואה את הנגעים אלא כבוד גדול לה הקדוש ברוך הוא למרים אותה שעה אני כהן ואני מסגירה אני חולטה ואני פוטרה. קתני מיהת משה זר ואין זר רואה את הנגעים. אמר רב נחמן בר יצחק שאני מראות נגעים דאהרן ובניו כתובין בפרשה. כתנא ויחר אף ה במשה רבי יהושע בן קרחה אומר כל חרון אף שבתורה נאמר בו רושם וזה לא נאמר בו רושם. רבי שמעון בן יוחי אומר אף זה נאמר בו רושם שנאמר הלא אהרן אחיך אלוי והלא כהן הוא הכי קאמר אני אמרתי אתה כהן והוא לוי עכשיו הוא כהן ואתה לוי. וחכמים אומרים לא נתכהן משה אלא שבעת ימי המלואים בלבד

ויש אומרים לא פסקה כהונה אלא מזרעו של משה שנאמר ומשה איש האלהים בניו יקראו על שבט הלוי ואומר משה ואהרן בכהניו ושמואל בקראי שמוי.

Rav says: Moses our teacher was a High Priest and he shared offerings as stated: “It was the portion of the ram of consecration of Moses” (Lev 8:29). (The Gemara) raises an objection “He may eat the bread of his God, both the most holy, and the holy” (Lev 21:22). If the offerings of the most sacred order are stated, why the offerings of lesser sanctity are stated? If the offerings of lesser sanctity are stated, why are the offerings of higher sanctity stated? It is taught: Why was Miriam separated? If you say that Moses separated her, Moses was not a priest, and a non-priest cannot see leprosy. If you say: Aaron put her in quarantine. Aaron drew to her and he did not understand leprosy. The Holy One Blessed be He, immediately bestowed His Presence to Miriam: I am a priest and I put you in quarantine, I decide, and I free her. Moses (was a) non-priest and a non-priest did not examine her plagues. Rav Nahman bar Yitzhak said: the marks of leprosy are different, because Aaron and his sons, (and not Moses) are stated in the passage: “The anger of the Lord burned against Moses.” Rabbi Yehoshua ben Korha said: for every burning of anger that is stated in the Torah, its effect is stated, but in this case no effect is stated. Rabbi Shimon ben Yoḥai said: Even in this (case) effect is stated as it is stated: “Is there not Aaron your brother the Levite?” Is he not a priest? This is what God said (to Moses): I said that you are the priest and he is Levite; now he is priest and you Levite. The Rabbis said: Moses became priest only seven days of inauguration. Priesthood expired with the descent of Moses as it is stated: Now the sons of Moses man of God, were reckoned to the tribe of Levi” (1 Chr 23:14). It is stated: “Moses and Aaron were among His priests and Samuel was among those who called upon His name” (Ps 99:6).

Rav asserts that Moses was a High Priest because he made offerings to Heaven as written in Leviticus 8:29. However the Gemara raises an objection according to a baraita in which it is written: לחם אלהיו “He will eat the bread of His God, the most holy and the holy”, (Lev 21:22).

In this circumstance, the priest may eat both offerings even though one offering was less holy than the other. The Gemara explains that as the baraita teaches, it is possible for a priest and a non-priest to eat the offering of the most holy order, because when the Jewish people entered Eretz Yisrael, it was permitted for a time to make offerings in a private altar. It implies that Moses was not considered a High Priest. The Gemara raises an objection because when Miriam became a leper (Numb 12:10), who put her in quarantine? If Moses was not a priest, he could not diagnose the leper. Neither could Aaron put her in quarantine because he was her brother, and according to the halakha a priest cannot inspect his own leprous kin. Rather the Holy One bestowed on Miriam His great honour, and He established whether Miriam was leprous. However, the midrash teaches that Moses was a “non-priest” and he could not inspect Miriam. This assertion contradicts the affirmation of Rav that declared Moses as priest. Rav Nahman bar Yitzhak argues that in Leviticus 13:2 it is written that Aaron and his sons had the task to verify the leprous. It means that Moses was a “non-priest.” The Gemara comments that the question about the priesthood of Moses was discussed among the

Tanna'im as thought in a baraita in which it is accounted that when Moses was in front of the burning bush and he expressed hesitation to deliver the message of God to the Pharaoh: ויחר־אף יהוה במשה "The anger of the Lord kindled against Moses, and He said: 'Is not Aaron the Levite your brother?'" (Exod 4:14). According to Rabbi Shimon ben Yoḥai in this verse God defines Aaron as a Levite, but Aaron was a priest. Therefore, God initially gave to Moses the role of High Priest, because he performed the service at the Tabernacle during the seven days of the inauguration even though he never wore the garment of a High Priest. According to the Sages, this priesthood of Moses expired only for his descendants that were Levites, while Aaron and his descendants became priests. This justifies as written: משה ואהרן בכהניו ושמואל בקראי שמו קראים אל־יהוה והוא יענם "Moses and Aaron were among His priests, and Samuel was among those who called upon His name", (Ps 99:6).

5.4.2.14. Bava Batra 75a

ואמר רבה אמר רבי יוחנן עתיד הקדוש ברוך הוא לעשות שבע חופות לכל צדיק וצדיק שנאמר וברא הי על כל מכון הר ציון ועל מקראה ענן יומם ועשן ונגה אש להבה לילה כי על כל כבוד חפה מלמד שכל אחד ואחד עושה לו הקדוש ברוך הוא חופה לפי כבודו. עשן בחופה למה אמר רבי חנינא שכל מי שעניו צרות בחלמידי חכמים בעולם הזה מתמלאות עיניו עשן לעולם הבא ואש בחפה למה אמר רבי חנינא מלמד שכל אחד ואחד נכזה מחופתו של חברו אוי לה לאותה בוששה אוי לה לאותה כלימה. כיוצא בדבר אתה אומר ונתתה מהודך עליו ולא כל הודך זקנים שבאותו הדור אמרו פני משה כפני חמה פני יהושע לה לאותה כלימה.

Rabba and Rabbi Yoḥanan said: In the future the Holy One Blessed be He will make seven canopies for all righteous and every righteous as it is stated: "the Lord will create above every dwelling place of Mount Zion, and above her assemblies, a cloud and smoke by day and the shining of a flaming fire by night. For over all the glory there will be a covering" (Isa 4:5). It is teaching that everyone will make a canopy as the Holy One Blessed be He, in accordance with his honour. Why (should there be) smoke in a canopy? Said Rabbi Ḥanina: because anyone whose eyes are narrow toward the scholars of the Torah, in this world, his eyes will be filled with smoke in the World to Come. And why (should there be) fire in a canopy? Rabbi Ḥanina said: it teaches that everyone will be burned in the canopy of the other. Woe to you for this embarrassment, and for this disgrace (that I did not merit a canopy as large as his).

This pericope is inserted in a dispute about the future glory of Jerusalem but also for the future of righteousness. About this latter, Rabba accounts the thought of Rabbi Yoḥanan who said that in the future the Holy Blessed be He, will shape seven canopies for every righteousness as written in the Torah "על־כל־כבוד חפה וברא יהוה על כל־מכון הר־ציון ועל־מקראה ענן יומם ועשן ונגה אש להבה לילה כי The Lord will create above every shrine of Mount Zion, and above her assemblies, a cloud and smoke by day and a shining of a flaming fire by night. For over all the glory will be a covering", (Isa 4:5) The canopies will be seven as listed in the quotation: the cloud by day, a smoke, the flaming fire by night, the glory and the canopy. The canopies will be great according to the honour of the individuals, it

implies that greater persons receive bigger and larger canopies. However the Gemara raises some questions about the presence of the smoke and the fire in the canopy. Rabbi Ḥanina explains that the presence of the smoke is justified by those people who have narrow eyes because they are stingy in this world, and in the World to Come they will have eyes full of smoke. Likewise, for those people that have the fire in the canopy because they are burned with embarrassment of their smaller canopy for their sins. This example is used as a comparison about Moses and Joshua, because it is written:

לְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמַעְנָה כָּל־עַדְתּוֹ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל “You shall give your authority to him, because all the congregation of the children of Israel may be obedient”, (Numb 27:20).

It means that Moses must only put-upon Joshua a part of his authority and not all. Indeed, the elders of that generation agree that Moses saw God face to face, unlike the prophets, but in a unique way, while Joshua met God in an indirect way. Similarly, the face of Moses was illuminated by the Divine light, Joshua reflected the light of Moses like the moon with the sun. This likeness exalts the figure of Moses but overshadows Joshua who is not comparable to Moses.

5.4.2.15. Menahot 29b

אמר רב יהודה אמר רב בשעה שעלה משה למרום מצאו להקדוש ברוך הוא שיושב וקושר כתרים לאותיות אמר לפניו רבוננו של עולם מי מעכב על ידך אמר לו אדם אחד יש שעתידי להיות בסוף כמה דורות ועקיבא בן יוסף שמו שעתידי לדרוש על כל קוץ וקוץ תילין תילין של הלכות. אמר לפניו רבוננו של עולם הראהו לי אמר לו חזור לאחורך הלך וישב בסוף שמונה שורות ולא היה יודע מה הן אומרים תשש כחו כיון שהגיע לדבר אחד אמרו לו תלמידיו רבי מנין לך אמר להן הלכה למשה מסיני נתיישבה דעתו. חזר ובא לפני הקדוש ברוך הוא אמר לפניו רבוננו של עולם יש לך אדם כזה ואתה נותן תורה על ידי אמר לו שתוק כך עלה במחשבה לפני אמר לפניו רבוננו של עולם הראיתני תורתו הראני שכרו אמר לו חזור חזר לאחוריו ראה ששוקלין בשרו במקולין אמר לפניו רבוננו של עולם זו תורה וזו שכרה אמר לו שתוק כך עלה במחשבה לפני.

Rav Yehuda said that Rav said: When Moses ascended on High, he found the Holy One Blessed be He sat tying crowns upon the letters of the Torah. (Moses) Said before Him: Master of the Universe, who is that keep You? (God) Said to him: there is a man who is appointed to be after some generations and his name is Aqiva ben Yosef. He is appointed to derive from every thorn, heaps and heaps of halakhot. (Moses) Said before Him: Master of the Universe show me him. (God) Said to him: Return behind you. He went away and sat at the end of the eighth row, and he did not understand what they said. His strength came down. When (Rabbi Aqiva) arrived (at the discussion), his students said to him: my Master from where do you (derive this)? He said to them: it is the halakha of Moses from Sinai. (When Moses heard it) His knowledge was put at ease. He returned and he came before the Holy One Blessed be He and said before Him: Master of the Universe, You have a man like him and You gave the Torah through me. (God) Said to him: Stay in silence. This intention arose before Me. (Moses) Said before Him: Master of the Universe, You have shown me the Torah, show me his reward. Said to him: Return. He went back and saw that they were weight his flesh (of Rabbi Aqiva) in a butcher shop. (Moses) Said before Him: Master of the Universe this is the Torah and this is reward? (God) Said to him: Stay in silence. This intention arose before Me.

Rabbi Judah said in name of Rav that one day Moses went to the Almighty and found Him that affixed letters upon the words of the Torah. Moses, amazed, asked the Holy One Blessed be He, what He was doing. The Lord said that there was a man, Rabbi Aqiva ben Joseph, that exposed upon each point of the crown, heaps and heaps of laws. Moses asked to see him, and God showed him. Moses went to sit at the end of the eighth row and listened to the discourses of these Sages on the Law, but he was unable to understand their arguments, he was ill at ease. However, when the disciples asked Rabbi Aqiva where he had learnt it, Rabbi Aqiva said that it was the Law that Moses had received on the Sinai. Moses went to God and asked Him about these Laws. God replied to Moses to be silent. Moses asked God to show him the reward of the Rabbi as God had showed his Law. God said to Moses to turn around and he saw that the flesh of the Rabbi was weighed in the market. Moses cried to God saying: “such is the Torah and such is the reward!” God replied to Moses to be silent.

This story is often an example of rabbinic interpretation of the Torah because the Sages thought that their task is a continuation of Sinaitic revelation. According to L.L. Edwards,⁴⁶³ Moses on the Sinai received the Torah, but he did not understand the whole revelation. D. Lipton⁴⁶⁴ relates that in this story the link between Oral Torah and Written Torah is perceptible.

L.L. Edwards⁴⁶⁵ affirms also that the Sages are always “facing in two directions at once”, in this case between the past (on the Sinai) and the future (the Day of the Messiah). For that reason God commands Moses “to turn around”. Moses speaks with God face to face, and he must turn away towards Rabbi Aqiva. Moses is between God and Rabbi Aqiva, while Rabbi Aqiva is between the Torah and his students. The Sages are mediators between the Torah and their students. Rabbinic texts create conversations between Sages and biblical figures.⁴⁶⁶ The Sages of the Talmud believe that they are not prophets, because prophecy is over; but their task is to continue the work of Moses interpreting the Torah, because they are the junction point between the divine Torah and human interpretation.⁴⁶⁷ The martyrdom of Rabbi Aqiva is inexplicable to Moses, but also God does not accept questions.

⁴⁶³ L.L. EDWARDS, “Rabbi Akiba’s Crowns: Postmodern Discourse and the Cost of Rabbinic Reading,” *Judaism* 49/4 (2004) 429.

⁴⁶⁴ D. LIPTON, “God’s Back! What did Moses see on Sinai?” in G.J. BROOKE – H. NAJMAN – L.T. STUCKENBRUCK, ed., *The Significance of Sinai: tradition about Sinai and divine revelation in Judaism and Christianity* (Leiden, 2008) 297.

⁴⁶⁵ L.L. EDWARDS, “Rabbi Akiba’s Crowns: Postmodern Discourse and the Cost of Rabbinic Reading,” *Judaism* 49/4 (2004) 419.

⁴⁶⁶ J.L. RUBENSTEIN, *Talmudic Stories: Narratives Art, Composition, and Culture. Torah and the Mundane Life: The Education of R. Shimon bar Yohai (Shabbat 33b-34a)* (Baltimore, 1999) 215.

⁴⁶⁷ L.L. EDWARDS, “Rabbi Akiba’s Crowns: Postmodern Discourse and the Cost of Rabbinic Reading,” *Judaism* 49/4 (2004) 417-418.

5.4.2.16. Sanhedrin 111a-111b

תניא אמר רבי אלעזר ברבי יום פעם אחת נכנסתי לאלכסנדריא של מצרים מצאתי זקן אחד ואמר לי בא ואראך מה עשו אבותי לאבותיך מהם טבעו בים מהם הרגו בחרב מהם מעכו בבנין ועל דבר זה נענש משה רבינו שנאמר ומאז באתי אל פרעה לדבר בשמך הרע לעם הזה. אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא חבל על דאבדין ולא משתכחין הרי כמה פעמים נגליתי על אברהם יצחק ויעקב באל שדי ולא הרהרו על מדותי ולא אמרו לי מה שמך אמרתי לאברהם קום התהלך בארץ לארכה ולרחבה כי לך אתננה בקש מקום לקבור את שרה ולא מצא עד שקנה בארבע מאות שקל כסף ולא הרהר על מדותי. אמרתי ליצחק גור בארץ הזאת ואהיה עמך ואברכך בקשו עבדיו מים לשתות ולא מצאו עד שעשו מריבה שנאמר ויבו רעי גרר עם רעי יצחק לאמר לנו המים ולא הרהר אחר מדותי. אמרתי ליעקב הארץ אשר אתה שכב עליה לך אתננה ביקש מקום לנטוע אהלו ולא מצא עד שקנה במאה קשיטה ולא הרהר אחר מדותי ולא אמרו לי מה שמך ואתה אמרת לי מה שמך בתחלה ועכשיו אתה אומר לי והצל לא הצלת את עמך עתה תראה את אשר אעשה לפרעה במלחמת פרעה אתה רואה ואי אתה רואה במלחמת שלשים ואחד מלכים. וימהר משה ויקד ארצה וישתחו מה ראה משה. רבי חנינא בן גמלא אמר ארך אפים ראה ורבנן אמרי אמת ראה תניא כמאן דאמר ארך אפים ראה דתניא כשעלה משה למרום מצאו להקדוש ברוך הוא שיושב וכותב ארך אפים אמר לפניו רבונו של עולם ארך אפים לצדיקים אמר לו אף לרשעים אמר ליה רשעים יאבדו אמר ליה השתא חזית מאי דמבעי לך. כשחטאו ישראל אמר לו לא כך אמרת לי ארך אפים לצדיקים. אמר לפניו רבונו של עולם ולא כך אמרת לי אף לרשעים והווננו דכתיב ועתה יגדל נא כח ה כאשר דברת לאמר. רבי חגא הוה סליק ואזיל בדרגא דבי רבה בר שילא שמעיה לההוא ינוקא דאמר עדתיך נאמנו מאד לביתך נאווה קדש ה לארך ימים וסמיך ליה תפלה למשה וגו אמר שמע מינה ארך אפים ראה.

It is taught: Rabbi Eleazar ben Rabbi Yosei said: One time I entered Alexandria of Egypt and found an old man and he said to me: Come and I will show you what my ancestors did to your ancestors. How they drowned in the sea, and how they were killed with the sword. How they were crushed in the buildings. About this word, Moses our teacher was punished as stated: "For since, I came to Pharaoh to speak in Your name, he has done evil to this people" (Exod 5:23). The Holy One Blessed be He said to him: Woe over those who did not go and did not find. As sometimes I revealed Myself to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as El Shadday and they did not question My attributes and they did not say to me: What is Your name? I said to Abraham: "Arise and walk in the land through its length and its width, for I give it to you" (Gen 13:17). He sought a place to bury Sarah and he did not find it until he bought it with four hundred silver shekels and he did not question My attributes. I said to Isaac: "Dwell in this land and I will be with you and bless you" (Gen 26:3). His servant sought water to drink and they did not find it, until they had a dispute as it is stated: "The herdsmen of Gerar quarreled with the herdsmen of Isaac saying: 'The water is ours'" (Gen 26:20). They did not question My attributes. I said to Jacob: "The land on which you lie, I will give to you" (Gen 28:13). He sought a place to pitch his tent and he did not find it until he bought it for one hundred coins. He did not question My attributes, and he did not say to Me: What is Your name? And you asked Me initially: What is Your name? And now you say to Me: "Neither have You delivered Your people" (Exod 5:23). "Now shall you see what I will do to the Pharaoh" (Exod 6:1). The war with the Pharaoh that you shall see, but you will not see the war with thirty-one kings. Moses made haste and bowed his head toward the earth and prostrates himself. What did Moses see? Rabbi Hanina ben Gamla said: He saw slow to anger. And the Rabbis said: He saw truth. It is taught in accordance with one who said: When Moses ascended on high he discovered the Holy One Blessed be He sitting and writing "Slow to anger." He said before Him: Master of the Universe, slow to anger for righteous? He said: even for the wicked. (Moses) said to Him: they perish. (God) said to him: Now you will see what you will need. When Israel sinned I said (to Moses): Did you say to Me "slow to anger" for righteous? (Moses) Said before Him: Master of the Universe did you say to me "even for the wicked?" It is written: "And now I pray, let the power of my Lord be great, as You have spoken, saying . . ." (Numb 14:17). Rabbi Hagga was walking up the stairs of Rabbi bar Sheila, he heard a child that said: Your testimonies are very sure, holiness adorns Your house, o Lord, forever"

(Ps 93:5). He juxtaposed to it: “A prayer of Moses” (Ps 90:1). (Rabbi Ḥagga) said: (Moses) saw He was slow to anger.

In this baraita Rabbi Eleazar son of Rabbi Yosei, accounts that once in Alexandria of Egypt he met a man who spoke to him about Egyptians, his ancestors that were killed at the time of Moses when the people of Israel passed by the Sea. Furthermore, this old man told him about Moses who protested against God as written: *וּמֵאִזּוּ בֵּאתִי אֶל־פַּרְעֹה לְדַבֵּר בְּשִׁמְךָ הִרַע לְעַם הַזֶּה וְהִצִּיל לֹא־הִצִּילְתָּ אֶת־עַמְךָ* “For since I came to the Pharaoh to speak in Your name, he has done evil to this people; neither have You delivered Your people at all”, (Exod 5:23).

Moses was angry with God, and he too. According to the Rabbi, the Holy One Blessed be He, sparks his wrath against Moses, and explained to him that never has anyone been disappointed by Him. The Holy One said to Moses that He revealed himself to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and never did anyone demand Him: what was his name? When the Almighty ordered Abraham: *כִּי לֶךְ אֲתַנְנָה...הִתְהַלֵּךְ בְּאֶרֶץ* “walk in the land... for I give it to you”, (Gen 13:17), he trusted to Him. Indeed Abraham sought a place to bury Sarah and he did not find this place and purchased it, but he never protested against God. To Isaac was promised the land but his servants did not find water to drink and they dug in the wadi. When they found the water the herdsmen of Gerar quarrelled with Isaac because the water was theirs (Gen 26:20). Despite everything, Isaac did not question God about His attributes. Again with Jacob, God promised the land (Gen 28:13) but he did not find a place in which to pitch the tent. Jacob purchased a place and never questioned God about His attributes. After listing these facts, the Holy One rebuked Moses for his arrogance, because God showed Moses His greatness as He had done with others. In the dispute the Sages infer and emphasize that Moses saw the downfall of the Pharaoh, but he will not see the war against thirty-one kings. It means that Moses did not enter in Eretz Yisrael as decreed by God. To this point, the Talmud continues the dispute quoting Exodus 34:6-8 in which the qualities of God and the meeting between God and Moses on the Mountain are listed. It is written that Moses hastily prostrated himself and the Gemara demands: what did Moses see? And why did Moses immediately prostrate himself? According to Rabbi Ḥanina ben Gamla, Moses reacted in this way because he saw the attribute of God who “is slow to anger”. In a baraita it is written that when Moses ascended on high he found God sitting and writing: Slow to anger. Moses said to the Holy One that He should use this attribute only with righteousness because the wicked must be doomed. God answered him that he will need this attribute. In fact, when the people of Israel sinned, Moses asked God to forgive the people, but God reminded him that the attribute “slow to anger” is for righteousness. Moses tried to remind God of His words *יְהוָה אֵרֶךְ אַפַּיִם וְרַב־חַסֵּד* “The Lord is long-suffering and abundant in mercy”, (Numb 14:18). The Gemara relates that Rabbi Ḥagga heard a child

who repeated “Your testimonies are very sure ... forever”, (Ps 93:5). The phrase “for all times” implies that God is slow to anger because He waits a long time for the return of the wicked before he punishes them. Rabbi Ḥagga concluded that Moses immediately prostrated himself because he saw the Divine attribute “slow to anger”.

In this baraita Moses is rebuked by the Lord, and the Sages put Moses in parallel to other fathers, but while the fathers are in total obedience with God, Moses discusses and contrasts God until God gives him an explanation. However, Moses fights for his people that in this baraita are defined wicked for their sins, but the Sages explain that God waits a long time for the return of the wicked because He is slow to anger.

5.4.2.17. Berakhot 63b

תנו רבנן כשנכנסו רבותינו לכרם ביבנה היו שם רבי יהודה ורבי יוסי ורבי נחמיה ורבי אליעזר בנו של רבי יוסי הגלילי פתחו כולם בכבוד אכסניא ודרשו. פתח רבי יהודה ראש המדברים בכל מקום בכבוד תורה ודרש ומשה יקח את האהל ונטה לו מחוץ למחנה והלא דברים קל וחומר ומה ארון ה' שלא היה מרוחק אלא שנים עשר מיל אמרה תורה והיה כל מבקש ה' יצא אל אהל מועד תלמידי חכמים שהולכים מעיר לעיר וממדינה למדינה ללמוד תורה על אחת כמה וכמה. ודבר ה' אל משה פנים אל פנים אמר רבי יצחק אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא למשה משה אני ואתה נסביר פנים בהלכה איכא דאמרי כך אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא למשה כשם שאני הסברתי לך פנים כך אתה הסבר פנים לישראל והאהל למקומו. ועוד פתח רבי יהודה בכבוד תורה ודרש הסכת ושמע ישראל היום הזה נהיית לעם וכי אותו היום נתנה תורה לישראל והלא אותו יום סוף ארבעים שנה היה אלא ללמדך שחביבה תורה על לומדיה בכל יום ויום כיום שנתנה מהר סיני.

The Sages taught: When our Rabbis entered the vineyard of Yavneh, they were Rabbi Yehuda, Rabbi Yosei, Rabbi Neḥemya, and Rabbi Eliezer ben Rabbi Yosei HaGelili. They were sat in honour of hosts and they taught. Rabbi Yehuda head of speakers in every place in honour of the Torah entered and taught: “Moses took his tent and pitched it outside the camp” (Exod 33:7). Is it not an inference? Just as the Torah says that ark of God went out twelve miles of the camp: all seeker of God went towards the Tent of Meeting. The Sages of the Torah that went from town to town, from country to country to study the Torah. How much more in a similar situation. “And the Lord spoke to Moses face to face” (Exod 33:11). Said Rabbi Yitzḥak: the Holy One Blessed be He, said to Moses: Moses you and I will show cheerful faces in the study of the halakha. Some say that the Holy One Blessed be He said to Moses: As I showed to you My cheerful face, you show your cheerful face to Israel and restore the tent to its place. Again, Rabbi Yehuda said in honour to the Torah, and taught: “Take heed and listen o Israel; this day you have become a people of the Lord your God” (Deut 27:9). Was the Torah given to Israel in this day? And was not this day the end of forty years? Rather to teach that every day the Torah is dear to those who study it, as of the day that he was given to Moses on the Mount Sinai.

Here a glimpse of Rabbinic life in Yavneh is accounted. The Talmud explains that the Sanhedrin of Yavneh was called “vineyard” because the Sages and their students were sitting in rows like the rows of vineyards. In this description the discussion among Rabbi Yehuda, Rabbi Yosei, Rabbi Neḥemya

and Rabbi Eliezer son of Rabbi Yosei HaGelili is inserted. They spoke in honour of their hosts, because the local population hosted them and their students. Rabbi Yehuda was the head of speakers because even though he was not the Nasi, he was estimated by Roman government. Therefore, he opened the speech in honour of the Torah, and he taught about Moses that

ומשה יקח את־האהל ונטה־לו מחוץ למחנה הרחק מן־המחנה וקרא לו אהל מועד והיה כל־מבקש יהוה יצא אל־אהל מועד
 אשר מחוץ למחנה

“he took his tent and pitched it outside the camp, far from the camp and called it Tent of meeting. Everyone who sought the Lord went out to the Tent of meeting, that was outside the camp”, (Exod 33:7). Rabbi Yehuda explained that it is a similitude with all scholars of the Torah that go from city to city to study the Torah, because they are seekers of God.

The Gemara continues with Rabbi Yitzḥak commenting the word “The Lord spoke to Moses face to face”, (Exod 33:11), he argues that with these words it is as if the Lord said to Moses that they would have shown the cheerful face in the study of the halakha to those people that study it. Someone asserted that just as God showed His cheerful face to Moses, he should show his cheerful face to the people of Israel and restore the tent in the camp. Rabbi Yehuda continued to speak about the Torah and said that when Moses was to leave this world, he said to the people הסכת ושמע ישראל היום הזה נהיית לעם ליהוה אלהיך “Be silent and listen, o Israel, this day you have become the people of the Lord your God”, (Deut 27:9). It could mean that in that day he was given the Torah, but also that the Torah was given at the end of forty years. Rabbi Yehuda disagrees, because for him every day the Torah is given to those who study it, as when it was given on the Sinai.

5.4.2.18. Soṭah 14a

רבי חמא ברבי חנינא אמר אף משה רבינו אינו יודע היכן קבור כתיב הכא ולא ידע איש את קברתו וכתוב התם וזאת הברכה אשר ברך משה איש האלהים ואמר רבי חמא ברבי חנינא מפני מה נקבר משה עצל בית פעור כדי לכפר על מעשה פעור. דרש רבי שמלאי מפני מה נתאווה משה רבינו ליכנס לארץ ישראל וכי לאכול מפריה הוא צריך או לשבוע מטובה הוא צריך אלא כך אמר משה הרבה מצות נצטוו ישראל ואין מתקיימין אלא בארץ ישראל אכנס אני לארץ כדי שיתקיימו כולן על ידי. אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא כלום אתה מבקש אלא לקבל שכר מעלה אני עליך כאילו עשיתם.

Rabbi Ḥama ben Rabbi Ḥanina said: Even Moses our teacher did not know where he is buried. It is written: And no man knows of his grave as written: “And this is the blessing with which Moses the man of God blessed” (Deut 33:1). Rabbi Ḥama ben Rabbi Ḥanina said: Why was Moses buried near Beth Peor? To atone for the incident in Peor. Rabbi Samlai taught: For what desire Moses our teacher wanted to enter Eretz Yisrael? Did he need to eat its produce or to satisfy himself? Rather this is what Moses said: Many were commanded to Jewish people and they can be fulfilled only in Eretz Yisrael, I will enter the land because they can be fulfilled by me. The Holy One Blessed be He, said to him: Do you seek to receive a reward? On the high I will ascribe that you performed them.

The Gemara relates the death of Moses, and Rabbi Ḥama son of Rabbi Ḥanina affirms that Moses does not know the place in which he is buried because it is written: ולא ידע איש את קברתו עד היום הזה: “And no man knows his grave to this day”, (Deut 34:6), and also וזאת הברכה אשר ברך משה איש האלהים “This is the blessing with which Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel before his death”, (Deut 33:1).

These last passages affirm that Moses as man, does not know his grave. Rabbi Ḥama son of Rabbi Ḥanina asks for what reason Moses was buried near Beth Peor that was the place in which the people of Israel sinned shamefully (Numb 25). According to the Gemara, Moses was buried near Beth Peor in order to atone the sins of the Jewish people.

Rabbi Samlai asked for what reason Moses desired to enter into Eretz Yisrael, maybe to eat the product of the earth or to satisfy himself. Rather, he argues that Moses said that since many mitzvot were commanded to the Jewish people, and more of them can be fulfilled in Eretz Yisrael, for this reason Moses will enter the Land to fulfil them. But the Holy Blessed said to Moses that He will ascribe that Moses performed all mitzvot and he will receive a reward, but he will not enter the Land.

5.4.3. The multiplicity of Moses in Babylonian Talmud

In the Talmud Moses appears as a polyhedral figure and some tales provide specificity that characterize him. In Talmud some narratives of Moses are linked to the Sinaitic event. Indeed, Moses receives the Torah directly from God, and he decides to give it to the people of Israel, and he decided to teach it to the people. Moreover, Moses has profound knowledge of the Torah, and he decides to share this knowledge with the people (*b. Ned.* 38a). According to Sages, fifty gates were built in the world, and they were given to Moses. These gates are an allusion to knowledge. Moses is the only prophet that receives full knowledge because it is written that in Israel there has not arisen a prophet like Moses, who knew the Lord face to face (Deut 34:10). The uniqueness of Moses emphasized that the Sages put in parallel with Solomon the great king (*b. Roš Haš.* 21b). In the Biblical history when God called Moses and the people (Exod 19), only Moses heard the voice of God, instead people heard the sound of a trumpet. The voice of God arrives only to Moses, because God speaks with Moses פה אל־פה “mouth to mouth”, (Numb 12:8) and פנים אל־פנים “face to face”, (Exod 33:11); moreover, in Talmud the senses of Moses and his perception of divine are emphasized (*b. Yoma* 4b). Sages argue

that Moses receives the teachings directly from the Almighty and then he has the task to teach it to Aaron and so also to the sons of Aaron, to the elders and then to the people. This chain is a rabbinic structure about the order of the Oral Law. Moses learning the Torah from the Lord, and then Aaron, the sons of Aaron, the elders and the people, must learn it four times and every student must review his studies four times (*b. 'Erub. 54b*). However, Rabbi Aqiva taught his students that because it is ordered to teach the Torah to others (Deut 31:19), it is useful to make sure that the Torah be taught until the students understand the lesson. Because Moses studied the Torah directly from God, it is appropriate for the students to take it at least once from Moses (*b. 'Erub. 54b*).

Just as *והיה כצאת משה אל־האהל יקומו כל־העם ונצבו איש פתח אהלו והביטו אחרי משה עד־באו האהלה* “So it was, whenever Moses went out to the Tent, all the people would rise and stand, each at the entrance of his tent, and gaze after Moses until he had entered the Tent”, (Exod 33:8), likewise the Sages dispute about the obligation to get up before a scholar of Torah. It means that in the rabbinic world there is a hierarchy and Moses is stressed as the most important person (*b. Qidd. 33b*). At this point it is necessary to spend few words about the relationship between priest and sage, because the priestly figure seems to disappear after 70 C.E. with the destruction of the Temple. As P.S. Alexander supposes,⁴⁶⁸ initially priests and sages are in competition because both have experience in legislative matters, and the adherence to the Torah. However, after 70 the priestly role begins to decay, and the sages become the custodians of religious doctrine. In truth, priesthood is especially a depository of the cultic role while the sage is expert of the Torah. Both these authorities have different roles that seem to intertwine but are actually asymmetric. For that reason, Moses, is the Sage ‘par excellence’, because he is a teacher of the Torah, he is a lawgiver, he is a transmitter of precepts. One of the best-known stories about Moses and the Sages in the life of Israel is the meeting between Moses and Rabbi Aqiva one of the redactors of the Mishna (*b. Menah. 29b*).

When Moses descends to the earth and goes to the Beth Ha Midrash of Rabbi Aqiva, Moses is perplexed to listen their arguments especially when Rabbi Aqiva affirms to his students that this is the Law that Moses received on the Sinai. It is an ironic story that shows change generated by rabbinic interpretation. According to B. Karsenti,⁴⁶⁹ the Sinaitic event remains unchanged in time even though every historical context has roles to reveal the Torah to the generation that studies it. Therefore, Moses is always present whenever a person approaches to the Torah to comment it. To confirm it, in the Talmud Sinaitic event is emphasized, because Rabbi Yehuda argues that every day the Torah is given to those that study it as it happened the Sinai (*b. Ber. 63b*). However, in Talmud Moses is compared

⁴⁶⁸ P.S. ALEXANDER, “What Happened to the Jewish Priesthood after 70?” in Z. RODGERS – M. DALY-DANTON – A. FITZPATRICK MCKINLEY, ed., *A Wandering Galilean: Essay in Honour of Seán Freyne* (Leiden/Boston 2009) 26-29.

⁴⁶⁹ B. KARSENTI, “Moïse et l’idée du peuple,” *Filosofia politica* (2013/2) 202-203.

to an angelic figure, and God puts Moses above angels giving him the Torah. In fact in Malachi 3:22 is written תורת משה עבדי “The Law of Moses, My servant” (*b. Šabb.* 88b-89a). The Sages dispute the priestly role of Moses (*b. Zebah.* 101b-102a). He was not a priest, but he performed the service at the Tabernacle during seven days of the inauguration (Lev 8:1-33). As above, Moses manifests in his life a full leadership that embraces management, mediation, intercession, lawgiving, interpretation of the Law and judging. Some of these aspects will fade as he gives others some tasks. Indeed, Moses initially acts as a priest and he is also an intercessor to God, for Israel. Then, Moses establishes Aaron as priest conferring on him and his offspring a priestly role. K. Pyschny and S. Schulz⁴⁷⁰ affirm that when Aaron became a priest, a priestly hierarchy has been defined, while Moses was the head of levitical hierarchy. Both social orders are necessary for cultic achievement. It means that Moses exercised a priestly a role, but then Aaron was the High Priest. However, Moses continues to be the intercessor to God for the people. Even though this latter task concerns a priest, Aaron officiated before the Holy, but Moses interceded for the people. Notwithstanding there were specific offices between priest and levite, Moses took part in priestly office. However, it is written: משה ואהרן בכהניו “Moses and Aaron were among His priests”, (Ps 99:6). The Sages recognize that although Moses put upon Joshua a part of his authority, the face of Moses is always illuminated by the Divine light, and Joshua reflects the light of Moses like the moon with the sun (*b. B. Bat.* 75a). Finally, it is curious to note that often Sages, even though they give prominence to the figure of Moses, try to have answers to ambiguous facts. The Sages dispute about circumcision (*b. Ned.* 31b-32a) that is the first mitzvah that must be accomplished for a son, but Moses was negligent, because in Exodus 4:24-26 he refused to circumcise his son before a trip. However, Sages interpret the Torah in such a way to justify Moses. Nobody is comparable to Moses because even though Moses is rebuked by God for his arrogance, God respects his character and leads Moses in His ways (*b. Sanh.* 111a-111b). Although Joshua leads the people of Israel to the Eretz Yisrael, the Sages argue that Joshua reflects the light of Moses as the moon with the sun.

All these rabbinic tales show us how Moses is also a multivalent figure in the Talmud. It is important to recognize that the rabbinic world exalts the person of Moses arguing also his flaws.

⁴⁷⁰ K. PYSCHNY – S. SCHULZ, *Debating Authority: Concepts of Leadership in the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets* (Berlin, 2018) 331.

5.4.4. Some aspects of Elijah in the Babylonian Talmud

According to K.H. Lindbeck, the legendary Elijah is different from the biblical one, because Sages portray Elijah as a messianic herald.⁴⁷¹ As we saw, Elijah plays different roles, because he informs the Sages about God in heavenly court, he offers money to the poor Sages, he rescues the Sages from the Gentile oppressors, he provides halakhic teachings, and he speaks with Sages and advises them in their roles, but also he punishes the Sages for their sins.

5.4.4.1. Qiddushin 70a

ואמר רבה בר רב אדא ואמרי לה אמר רבי סלא אמר רב המנונא כל הנוששא אשה שאינה הוגגת לו אליהו כופתו והקדוש ברוך הוא רוצעו ותנא על כולם אליהו כותב והקדוש ברוך הוא חותם אוי לו לפוסל את זרעו ולפוגם את משפחתו ולנושא אשה שאינה הוגגת לו אליהו כופתו והקדוש ברוך הוא רוצעו.

Rabba bar Adda and Rabbi Salla said that Rabbi Hamnuna said: Anyone who marries a woman who is not suited to him, Elijah binds him and the Holy One Blessed be He, straps him. It is taught: Regarding all of them, Elijah writes and the Holy One Blessed be He signs: Woe to who inadequate his offspring and who brings a flaw in to his family and who marries a woman who is not suited to him. Elijah binds him and the Holy One Blessed be He straps him.

In these verses the role of Elijah at the end of the times is explained with those people that have a lineage flaw. It appears obvious that the lineage flaw is due to a man who marries a woman with a flawed lineage. The Sages affirm that when a man marries a woman that has a flawed lineage, Elijah binds him, so that the man is liable to receive lashes and the Holy One straps him. According to the Sages, Elijah punishes those people because they forced him to accomplish this punishment. However, a Sage asserts that with these people, Elijah submits them to the Holy One and He disapproves of a man who marries a woman that is not halakhically suited to him for her lineage.

As noted by K.H. Lindbeck,⁴⁷² in this context the figure of Elijah is similar to an angel because Elijah performs actions like an angel, he punishes people after their death for their sins. Elijah has these powers for his deathlessness that allows him to travel in heaven and on earth. Moreover, in this aggadic tale, it is unusual to see Elijah writing and God signing. According to the author, Elijah is

⁴⁷¹ K.H. LINDBECK, *Elijah and the Rabbi* (New York, 2010) 2.

⁴⁷² K.H. LINDBECK, *Elijah and the Rabbi* (New York, 2010) 48.

very zealous, and he punishes men that marry women with flawed lineage like Pinḥas who kills an Israelite man who had an intercourse with a Midianite woman in biblical story (Numb 25:6-15).

5.4.4.2. Qiddushin 71a

אמר אביי אף אנן נמי תנינא משפחת בית הצריפה היתה בעבר הירדן וריחקה בן ציון בזרוע עוד אחרת היתה וקירבה בן ציון בזרוע כגון אלו אליהו בא לטמא ולטהר לרחק ולקרב כגון אלו דידעין אבל משפחה שנטמעה נטמעה.

Rabbi Abaye said: We too learn. There was a family of Beit HaTzerifa in Transjordan, and (a person called) ben Tziyyon forcefully located on the other side of Jordan. There was another that ben Tzion forcefully drew near. Elijah came to declare impure and pure these families and distanced and drew near. However, a family that has become assimilated has become assimilated.

This dispute continues with all its complications. However in this passage the Rabbi resumes a situation that was dealt with in the Mishna, in the tractate Eduyyot 8:7. Because Ben Tziyyon⁴⁷³ seems forcefully to remove these families that were unflawed proclaiming that they are flawed and drew near these families that are flawed although its lineage was unflawed. For that reason the Mishna asserts that the prophet Elijah will not come to declare what is pure and impure. But he will come to bring justice so that the halakha will be accomplished. As in Malachi 3:23-24 Elijah will not come to change the status of the families, but only to achieve justice.

5.4.4.3. Sanhedrin 113a

תניא לא יריחו על שם עיר אחרת ולא עיר אחרת על שם יריחו דכתיב בנה חיאל בית האלי את יריחה באבירם בכרו סדה ובשגוב צעירו הציב דלתיה. תניא באבירם בכורו רשע לא היה לו ללמוד בשגוב צעירו היה לו ללמוד. אבירם ושגוב מאי עבוד מאי קאמר הכי קאמר באבירם בכורו היה לו ללמוד לאותו רשע בשגוב צעירו ממשמע שנאמר באבירם בכורו איני יודע בשגוב צעירו מה תלמוד לומר שגוב צעירו מלמד שהיה מקבר והולך מאבירם עד שגוב. אחאב שושביניה הוה אתא איהו ואליהו למשאל בשלמא בי טמיא יתיב וקאמר דילמא כי מילט יהושע הכי לט לא יריחו על שם עיר אחרת ולא עיר אחרת על שם יריחו אמר ליה אליהו אין אמר ליה השתא לווטתא דמשה לא קא מקיימא דכתיב וסרתם ועבדתם וגו וכתוב וחרה אף ה בכם ועצר את השמים וגו וההוא גברא אוקים ליה עבודה זרה על כל תלם ותלם ולא שביק ליה מיטרא דמיזל מיסגד ליה לווטתא דיהושע תלמידיה מקיימא. מיד ויאמר עליהו התשבי מתשבי גלעד חי ה אלהי ישראל אם יהיה טל ומטר וגו בעי רחמי והבו ליה אקלידא דמטרא וקם ואזל. ויהי דבר ה אליו לאמר לך מזה ופנית לך קדמה ונסתרת בנחל כרית והערבים מביאים לו לחם ובשר בבקר וגו מהיכא אמר רב יהודה אמר רב מבי טבחי דאחאב ויהי מקץ ימים וייבש הנחל כי לא היה גשם בארץ כיון דחזא דאיכא צערא בעלמא כתיב ויהי דבר ה אליו לאמר קום לך צרפתה. וכתוב ויהי אחר הדברים האלה הלה בן האשה בעלת בעא רחמי למיתן ליה אקלידא דתחיית המתים אמרי ליה שלש מפתחות לא נמסרו לשליח של חיה ושל גשמים ושל תחיית המתים יאמרו שתים ביד תלמיד ואחת בוד הרב אייתי הא ושקיל האי דכתיב לך הראה על אחאב ואתנה מטר.

⁴⁷³ According to the tradition this name could refer to a king or also a Hasmonean family or a descendent of Herod. This assertion is justified by the power that this family has, because it was able to expel people that have flawed lineage.

It is taught (that there is a prohibition) not (to build) Jericho (even after changing its name) to the name of another town and (not to build) another town (giving the) name Jericho as it is written: “Hiel of Bethel built Jericho. He laid its foundation with Abiram his firstborn, and with his youngest son Segub he set up its gates” (1 Kgs 16:34). It is taught: (the death of) Abiram his firstborn the guilty it was not (incumbent) upon him to learn (not to build Jericho), but (the death of) Segub his young son it was upon him to learn (that they died for the curse of Joshua). What did Abiram and Segub do? What is he saying? It is stated: From Abiram his firstborn the wicked man (Hiel) did not learn about Segub his youngest as stated: “With Abiram his firstborn” do I not know that Segub was the youngest? What said the verse: “Segub his young son”? It is teaching that he gradually buried Abiram through Segub. Immediately “Elijah the Tishbite of the inhabitants of Gilead said to Ahab: ‘As the Lord God of Israel lives, there shall not be dew nor rain’” (1 Kgs 17:1). He had compassion and gave him the key of the rain, and he arose and went. “The word of the Lord came to him saying: ‘Get away from here, and turn eastward, and hide by the Brook Cherit . . . And the ravens brought him bread and meat in the morning . . .’” (1 Kgs 17:2-3:6). From where? Rav Yehuda said that Rav said: from the slaughterhouse of Ahab. “And it happened after a while that the brook dried up, because there had been no rain in the land” (1 Kgs 17:7). When he saw that there was few as written: “And the word of the Lord came to him saying: Arise, go to Zarephath” (1 Kgs 17:8-9). It is written: “Now it happened after these things that the son of the woman who owned the house became sick.” (1 Kgs 17:17). (Elijah) Prayed and asked compassion and gave him the key of resurrection of the dead. (From the Heaven they) Said to him: three keys were not given to an agent. (The key) to a woman in childbirth, (the key) to rainfall, and (the key) to the resurrection of the dead. They will say: Two are in possession of one scholar and one on the hand of the Master. Bring me these to me as written: “Go present yourself to Ahab and I will send the rain on the Earth” (1 Kgs 18:1).

In this baraita the dispute is based on the curse of Joshua upon the city of Jericho as written in Joshua 6:17, 26. The prohibition about Jericho is not only for the reconstruction of the city, but also if the city takes the name of Jericho, it always rests cursed as written about Hiel the Bethelite that rebuilt the city of Jericho,

בימיו בנה היאל בית האלי את־יריחה באבירם בכרו יסדה ובשגיב [ו] [ב] [שגוב] צעירו הציב דלתיה כדבר יהוה אשר דבר ביד יהושע בן־נון

“Hiel of Beth-El in his days built Jericho. He established its foundation with Abiram his firstborn, and with his youngest Segub as the word of the Lord, which He had spoken through Joshua the son of Nun”, (1 Kgs 16:34). This fact suggests that Abiram and Segub could be wicked, but the Gemara argues that Hiel should have learned that after the death of Abiram, Segub died for the curse of Joshua. This latest assertion indicates that Hiel gradually buried all his sons. According to the Gemara, Hiel did not build Jericho,⁴⁷⁴ but another city named Jericho. Ahab was a friend of Hiel and he went with Elijah from Hiel. Elijah said to Hiel that his mourning was the effect of the curse of Joshua, and Ahab

⁴⁷⁴ Hiel could be a man of the kingdom of Israel and Jericho is allocated in Judea. Hiel was not a man of the tribe of Benjamin that was the land in which Jericho is located.

replied that the curse of Moses was not fulfilled according to the worship for other gods as written "Burnt of anger the Lord against you, and He restrained the heavens so that there be no rain" (Deut 11:17). Aḥab tried to provoke Elijah asking him if the curse of Joshua would be fulfilled, even though a man establishing as an idol every furrow of the land of Israel would have such plentiful rain that he would not be able to worship his idol. Elijah promised Aḥab that in Israel there would not be dew and rain as written in 1 Kings 17:1. This promise is a decision of Elijah and it depends on him. For that reason the Sages assert that God gave Elijah the key to rainfall.

After these events, God asked Elijah and ordered him to hide himself in the Wadi Cherit, and the ravens brought him food (1 Kgs 17:2-3:6). The Gemara asks where does this food come from? Rav says that it comes from the slaughterhouse of Aḥab. When the people began to have famine and suffering. God called Elijah and invited him to go to Zarephath (1 Kgs 17:8-9) and Elijah returned the key of rainfall to God. In Zarephath, Elijah met a woman who had a sick son (1 Kgs 17:17), and Elijah prayed to God for the key of the resurrection of the dead, and the Lord gave him this key. To this point the Talmud tells that some people ask a question about Elijah who received from God three keys as it had never been for anyone. In fact, Elijah received a key for a woman in childbirth; a key to rainfall; and a key to resurrection of the dead. The Talmud explains that two keys are in the possession of the students, but one key is in the possession of the Master, and for that motive when Elijah revoked his promise about the drought, he returned the key of rainfall to God, and from God, he took the key of the resurrection of the dead.

B. Kern-Ulmer⁴⁷⁵ affirms that the "key" theme is often mentioned by Sages because they express that God has control over everything. However keys are given one at time in fact as noted A. Wiener,⁴⁷⁶ Elijah had returned the key of the rain so he could have that of the resurrection of the dead. According to B. Kern-Ulmer⁴⁷⁷ the Sages thought that Elijah had these peculiarities in the world to come because in the world he revived the dead, controlled the rain and redeemed the barren. God gave these keys allowing a human to perform miracles on His behalf, because He will act in the world to come.

5.4.4.4. Shabbat 33b

אזל הוא ובריה טשו בי מדרשה כל יומא הוה מייתי להו דביתהו ויפתא וכוזא דמיא וכרכי כי תקיף גזירתא אמר ליה לבריה נשים דעתן כלה עליהן דילמא מצערי לה ומגליא לך אזלו טשו במערתא איתרחיש ניסא איברי להו חרובא ועינא דמיא והו

⁴⁷⁵ B. KERN-ULMER, "Consistency and change in Rabbinic Literature as reflected in the terms Rain and Dew," *Journal for the Study* 26 (1995) 70.

⁴⁷⁶ A. WIENER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Development Judaism* (London, 1978) 47.

⁴⁷⁷ B. KERN-ULMER, "Consistency and change in Rabbinic Literature as reflected in the terms Rain and Dew," *Journal for the Study* 26 (1995) 70.

משלחי מנייהו והוו יתבי עד צוארייהו בחלא כולי יומא גרסי בעידן צלויי לבשו מיכסו והדר משלחי מנייהו כי היכי דלא ליבלו איתבו תריסר שני במערתא אתא אליהו וקם אפיתחא דמערתא אמר מאן לודעיה לבר יוחי דמית קיסר ובטיל גזירתיה. נפקו חזו אינשי דקא כרבי וזרעי אמר מניחין חיי עולם ועוסקין בחיי שעה כל מקום שנותנין עיניהן מיד נשרף יצתה בת קול ואמרה להם להחריב עולמי יצאתם חיזרו למערתכם הדור אזול איתבו תריסר ירחי שתא אמר משפט רשעים בגיהנם שנים עשר חדש יצתה בת קול ואמרה צאו ממערתכם נפקו כל היכא דהוה מחי רבי אלעזר הוה מסי רבי שמעון אמר לו בני די לעולם אני ואתה. בהדי פניא דמעלי שבתא חזו ההוא סבא דהוה נקיט תרי מדאני אסא ורהיט בין השמשות אמרו ליה הני למה לך אמר להו לכבוד שבת ותיסגי לך בחד חד כנגד זכור וחד כנגד שמור אמר ליה לבריה חזי כמה חביבין מצות על ישראל יתיב דעתייהו.

Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai and his son Rabbi Eleazar went and hid (from the Romans) in the Beth Din. Everyday the wife of Rabbi Shimon came to them and brought bread and a jug of water. When the decree was intensified, he said to his son: women are easily impressionable, and if someone tortures her, she will reveal us. They went and hid in a cave. A miracle occurred, a carob was created for them in a spring of water. They took their clothes and sat (covered) in sand up to their necks. Everyday, at time of prayer, they dressed to cover themselves, and prayed. Then removed their clothes. They sat in the cave for twelve years. Elijah came and stood at the entrance of the cave and said: Who will inform bar Yoḥai that the decree has been abrogated and the emperor has died? They appeared and saw mankind who was plowing and sowing. Said the Rabbi: People abandon the eternal life and engage in temporal life. Every place that their eyes saw, immediately was burned. A Voice emerged from the Heaven and said to them: Did you emerge to destroy My World? Return in your cave. They went and sat in the cave twelve months again. They said: Judgement of the wicked in the Gehenna lasts for twelve months. A Divine Voice came from Heaven and said: Emerge from the cave. They emerged. Everywhere Rabbi Eleazar would strike, Rabbi Shimon would heal. (Rabbi Shimon) said to him (Rabbi Eleazar): my son, me and you are plenty for the world (because he thought that they were plenty for the study of the Torah). As the sun was setting on of Shabbat eve, they saw an old man that held two branches of myrtle and running at twilight. He said to him: Why did you have these? He said to them: In honour of Shabbat. Let one suffice. One corresponding to "Remember" and one corresponding to "Observe." He said to his son: See how are beloved the mitzvot in Israel. Their minds were put to ease.

In these verses of the tractate Shabbat a story about Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai and his son Rabbi Eleazar is accounted during the Roman persecution in Israel. Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai and his son were hidden and the wife of Rabbi Shimon every day brought them bread and a jug of water. However when the persecution got worse, these two Rabbis decided to hide themselves in a cave because it was better to save the wife from every danger. In the cave a miracle happened because a carob tree emerged as a spring of water. Both Rabbis studied the Torah every day and they removed their clothes and sat covered in the sand up to their necks. When they prayed, they dressed themselves to meet God, as written: הכון לקראת־אלהיך "Prepare to meet your God", (Amos 4:12). These Rabbis stayed in the cave for twelve years. One day, the prophet Elijah came and asked them in which way they would have been informed about the death of the emperor and the abrogation of his decrees. In the Rabbinic tradition Elijah is always considered a bearer of good news. However, when Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai and his son Rabbi Eleazar emerged from the cave, they saw that people were engaged in earthly works

abandoning eternal life and the study of the Torah. Moreover, the Gemara accounts that everything that Rabbi Shimon saw, Rabbi Eleazar burned it with his eyes. A Divine voice emerged and rebuked them because they were destroying the world. Again they entered the cave for twelve months. After this time, the Divine voice invited them to emerge from the cave. Everything that Rabbi Eleazar strikes, Rabbi Shimon heals. Both apprehended that they could suffice for the entire world. One day, when it was time for Shabbat, they saw an elderly man running at twilight with two branches of myrtle.

They asked him why he had these two branches of myrtle, and he answered that it was in honour of Shabbat, because one branch corresponds to *זכור את־יום השבת לקדשו* “Remember the Shabbat day and keep it holy”, (Exod 20:8), and the other branch to *שמור את־יום השבת לקדשו* “Observe the Shabbat day to keep it holy”, (Deut 5:12). Rabbi Shimon saw that in Israel people beloved the mitzvot and respected them.

R. Shoshany⁴⁷⁸ makes an interesting comparison between the story of Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai (Rashbi) and the biblical story of the prophet Elijah. Both are zealous for God; Elijah does not accept compromises and Rashbi has a total devotion to the Torah. Elijah flees from society, and Rashbi and his son flee from the Romans and decide to live in a cave to study the Torah. In both stories, the protagonists are miraculously fed by God. However, after a time, God orders them to return to the world; Elijah returns to Damascus (1 Kgs 19:13-14) and Rashbi and his son come out from the cave. Thus the Sages disagree about the behaviour of men and destroy what their eyes see. God punishes them, and He orders them to stay in the cave another year. As noted by J.L. Rubenstein,⁴⁷⁹ Rashbi and his son, this second time, should stay in the cave as ordered by God. This time the experience of the cave will be useful to calm their wrath against humans. God decrees that they must return into the world. It is important to point out that some scholars like R. Hidary⁴⁸⁰ and J.L. Rubenstein⁴⁸¹ agree on the role of Elijah in the story of Rashbi and his son. Because when Elijah goes to the Sages, he does not enter the cave to speak to the Sages, but he stops at the entrance. According to the scholars this limit marks the separation between natural and supernatural world. These two Sages were confined in a place in which only supernatural beings could reach them. However the prophet Elijah once again reveals important information to the Sages. At the end of this

⁴⁷⁸ R. SHOSHANY, “Rabbi Shimon ben Yoḥai in the Cave and Elijah in the Wilderness: A Comparison between Talmudic and Biblical Narratives,” *Jewish Studies* 6 (2007) 23-26.

⁴⁷⁹ J.L. RUBENSTEIN, *Talmudic Stories: Narratives Art, Composition, and Culture. Torah and the Mundane Life: The Education of R. Shimon bar Yoḥai (Shabbat 33b-34a)* (Baltimore, 1999) 114.

⁴⁸⁰ R. HIDARY, “A New Approach to Contextualizing Babylonian Talmud Stories and a Meta-Analysis of Comparative Methodologies,” *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 19/2 (2016) 286.

⁴⁸¹ J.L. RUBENSTEIN, *Talmudic Stories: Narratives Art, Composition, and Culture. Torah and the Mundane Life: The Education of R. Shimon bar Yoḥai (Shabbat 33b-34a)* (Baltimore, 1999) 114.

story, Rashbi realizes that he had an extreme view of the world, because the balanced coexistence of work together with the Torah is possible.⁴⁸²

5.4.4.5. Avodah Zarah 17b

אתיוהו לרבי אלעזר בן פרטא אמרו מאי תעמא מנית ומאי תעמא גנבת אמר להו אי סייפא לא ספרא ואי ספרא לא סייפא ומדהא ליתא הא נמי ליתא ומאי תעמא קרו לך רבי רבן של תרסיים אני. אייתו ליה תרי קיבורי אמרו ליה הי דשתיא והי דערבא איתרחיש ליה ניסא אתיא זיבוריתא אותיבא על דשתיא ואתאי זיבורא ויתיב על דערבא אמר להו האי דשתיא והאי דערבא. אמרו ליה ומאי טעמא לא אתית לבי אבידן אמר להו זקן הייתי ומתיירא אני שמא תרמסוני ברגליכם [אמרו] ועד האינדא כמה סבי איתרמוס אתרחיש ניסא ההוא יומא אירמס חד סבא. ומאי טעמא קא שבקת עבדך לחירות אמר להו לא היו דברים מעולם קם חד [מינייהו] לאסהודי ביה אתא אליהו אידמי ליה כחד מחשובי דמלכותא אמר ליה מדאתרחיש ליה ניסא בכולהו בהא נמי אתרחיש ליה וההוא גברא בישותיה הוא דקא אהוי. ולא אשגח ביה קם למימר להו הוה כתיבא איגרתא דהוה כתיב מהשיבי דמלכות לשדורי לבי קיסר ושדרוה על ידיה דההוא גברא אתא אליהו פתקיה ארבע מאה פרסי אזל ולא אתא.

The Romans brought Rabbi Eleazar ben Perata and said: What is the reason that you teach (the Torah) and for what reason you stole. He said to them: if one is a robber, he is not a scholar, and if one is a scholar he is not a robber. And from (the fact) that it is not true, (one may conclude that this description) is not true. For what reason they call you Rabbi (if you did not teach the Torah)? I am a master (rabban) of weavers (tarsiyyim). They brought two coils and said to him: Which is the warp and which is the woof? A miracle occurred: a female hornet, came and sat on of warp, and a male hornet sat on of the woof. They said to him: For that reason you are not came at house of Abidan? He said to them: I was old and feared to be trampled under your feet. They said: until now, how many old men have been trampled? A miracle occurred and that day an old man was trampled. For that reason you delivered your slave? He said to them: It was not happened. One of them stood to testify against him. Elijah came as a Roman nobleman and said: From the reason that miracles occurred for this Rabbi, a miracle will occur for him and that man is demonstrating is wickedness. But that man paid him no heed and stood to say to them. There was a written letter that was composed by an important person of the Empire, and to be sent it to the court of the Emperor and also they sent it in possession of that man (the witness). Elijah came and threw it (a distance of) four hundred parasangs. The men went and did not come (and all the charges against Rabbi Eleazar were dropped).

The Gemara continues about the problems that the Sages had with Romans. In fact in this text the Romans had a trial with Rabbi Eleazar ben Perata and questioned him for what reason he taught the Torah and also he stole. He answered that if a person is a robber, he cannot be a scholar, and if one person is a scholar, he cannot be a robber. The Romans asked him for what reason he was called Rabbi even though he did not teach the Torah. And he said that he was a Master of weavers.⁴⁸³ To

⁴⁸² R. SHOSHANY, "Rabbi Shimon ben Yohai in the Cave and Elijah in the Wilderness: A Comparison between Talmudic and Biblical Narratives," *Jewish Studies* 6 (2007) 26.

⁴⁸³ The term used for wavers is "tarsiyyim." According to how it is spelled with *tet* or *tau*, this word means "man of Tarsus" that was a town in Asia Minor, or also weaver.

test the veracity of his assertions, the Romans decided to bring a coil to Rabbi Eleazar and asked him if he was able to distinguish the warp and the woof. At this point, according to the Gemara, a miracle occurred because a female hornet sat on the warp and a male hornet sat on the coil of woof. Rabbi Eleazar told the difference between warp and woof, because the male hornet sat on the woof while the female on the warp since as female, she receives the male, so in this case the woof. It is difficult to distinguish the warp from the woof, the ability to differentiate these two types of thread is a good knowledge of this work. Then the Romans asked him for what reason he did not go to the house of Abidan. Ben Abidan is often mentioned in the Talmud but it is not defined if it is a name of person or a deity. Rabbeinu Ḥananel suggests that it was a chamber in which idols were worshiped. However, Rabbi Eleazar answered that he was old and also he feared to be trampled by the crowds. The Romans objected that an old man has never been trampled by crowds, but fortunately, another miracle occurred as accounted by the Gemara, and that day an old man was trampled. The trial between the Romans and Rabbi Eleazar continues and the Romans asked him why he set free his slave, but he asserted that he never did it. However one of them accused Rabbi Eleazar and Elijah came, and disguised as a Roman noblemen, said to the witness that because for Rabbi Eleazar miracles occurred, even in this case there will be a miracle to demonstrate the wickedness of the witness. It happened that the witness was appointed to bring to the Roman court a letter in which he accused Rabbi Eleazar. Elijah the prophet came and threw the man to a distance of four hundred parasangs,⁴⁸⁴ and the man did not come back. All the charges against Rabbi Eleazar ben Perata were dropped.

As K. Lindbeck notes,⁴⁸⁵ this aggadic account presents many contradictions because martyrdom is not emphasized but its hostility is. Usually martyrs die in name of God, instead here Rabbi Eleazar denies his identity of Sage telling lies. K. Lindbeck argues that the Romans invent the charge of stealing and being a thief against Rabbi Eleazar, accusation that are moved against those who the Romans believe rebels. Rabbi Eleazar affirms to be a master of weavers that is a humble occupation and that could be understood as weaver of talmudic discussion. It has a double meaning. However, for every assertion the Romans ask for confirmation, and every time a miracle occurs. When the Romans demand about the house of Abidan (house of destruction) Rabbi Eleazar answers that he is old and could be trampled but really, this house should be a theatre or a circle in which usually a Sage cannot go unlike a weaver. The same thing applies to the release of the slave that is an action performed by Sages or observant Jews that free their slaves because converted to Judaism. Rabbi Eleazar tries to reply for every accusation but he does not always succeed. Every time a miracle occurs. According to K.H. Lindbeck in this story, Elijah accomplishes the will of the Lord because

⁴⁸⁴ In the Talmud one parasang equals 4 talmudic miles (960 m). Totally they are 3.84 km.

⁴⁸⁵ K.H. LINDBECK, *Elijah and the Rabbi* (New York, 2010) 112-115.

Rabbi Eleazar contrary to other Sages, prefers life to martyrdom. Also these Sages are useful to Jewish history, because they were able to transmit their faith to future generations.

5.4.4.6. Qiddushin 40a

רב כהנא הוה קמזבין דיקולי תבעתיה ההיא מטרוניתא אמר לה איזיל איקשיט נפשאי סליק וקנפיל מאיגרא לארעא אתא עליהו קבליה אמר ליה אטרחתן ארבע מאה פרסי אמר ליה מי גרם לי לאו עניותא יהב ליה שיפא דדינרי.

Rav Kahana sold palm leaves (to women) and he was attracted by a noble woman. He said to her: I go and adorn myself. He ascended (to the roof) and he fell from the roof toward the ground. Elijah came and accused him saying: You troubled me (to travel) four hundred parasangs. He said to him: What caused me (to be in this situation of temptation)? Is it not poverty? Elijah gave him a basket of dinars.

The Gemara tells of Rav Kahana selling palm leaves baskets to a woman. One day he is fascinated by a woman, and he desires to engage with her in intercourse. Immediately Elijah the prophet appears without disguise to catch Rav Kahana when he decided to throw himself from the roof to avoid to committing adultery. As K.H. Lindbeck notes,⁴⁸⁶ in this tale Elijah comes to rescue the Sages from non-Jews. Moreover, Elijah accomplishes a miracle and Rav Kahana finds a basket full of dinars. In this baraita Elijah performs a miracle but he especially runs in defence of the Sage so that he does not give in to temptation. Often Elijah protects Sages from their weaknesses.

5.4.4.7. Yevamot 90b

תא שמע אליו תשמעון אפילו אומר לך עבור על אחת מכל מצות שבתורה כגון אליהו בהר הכרמל הכל לפי שעה שמע לו. שאני התם דכתיב אליו תשמעון וליגמר מיניה מיגדר מילתא שאני.

Come and hear: “To him you shall listen” (Deut 18:15). (The prophet) Says to you: Transgress one mitzvot of the Torah, for example, as Elijah on Mount Carmel, (with regard to) everything for (the requirement of the) hour, (you must) listen to him. There it is different as it is written: To him you shall listen (it means that a positive mitzvah is necessary to obey to the prophet). And let him derive from (this case that a principle in which the Sage has the same power as a prophet).

⁴⁸⁶ K.H. LINDBECK, *Elijah and the Rabbi* (New York, 2010) 15, 110.

In this context an important matter about the fulfilment of the mitzvot is raised. Because the aforementioned expression: “Sit and refrain from action” concerning all cases in which a person on the day of Shabbat cannot carry a lulav if it is the first day of Sukkot, or also to sound the shofar if it occurs on Rosh Ha Shana. All these events cannot be uprooted from the Torah, even though among the Sages there are different opinions. The Gemara suggests some cases quoting: אלהיך אליו תשמעון: “Him you shall hear”, (Deut 18:15). This expression is tied to a prophet, even though a prophet orders to transgress a mitzvah of the Torah like Elijah on Mount Carmel. It is necessary to obey the prophet. In the case of Elijah on the Carmel (1 Kgs 18), he brought an offering to God in a time in which it was forbidden to sacrifice an offering outside the Temple. However, the Gemara specifies that a mitzvah can be suspended for one hour or over-ruled if it is used in an active manner. To obey a prophet is a positive mitzvah but also to override a prohibition is a positive mitzvah. In this last case the story of Elijah is fundamental, because he overruled the mitzvah to enforce the Torah to the people of Israel. The Talmud concludes that a prophet acts in force of his prophecy while a Sage for his wisdom. Therefore, the role of the Sage is more powerful than a prophet because a Sage can enact halakha.

5.4.4.8. Eruvin 43b

ואסור לשנות יין כל ימות החול. אי אמרת בשלמא יש תחומין היינו דבשבתות ובימים טובים מותר אלא אי אמרת אין תחומין בשבתות ובימים טובים אמא מותר. שאני התם דאמר קרא הנה אנכי שלח לכם את אליה הנביא וגו' והא לא אתא אליהו מאתמול. אי הכי בחול כל יומא ויומא נמי לישתרי דהא לא אתא אליהו מאתמול אלא אמרינן לבית דין הגדול אתא הכא נמי לימא לבית דין הגדול אתא. כבד מובטח להן לישראל שאין אליהו בא לא בערבי שבתות ולא בערבי ימים טובים מפני הטורח. קא סלקא דעתך מדאליהו לא אתא משיח נמי לא אתי במעלי שבתא לישתרי אליהו לא אתי משיח אתי דכיון דאתי משיחא הכל עבדים הן לישראל. בחד בשבא לישתרי לפשוט מינה דאין תחומין דאי יש תחומין בחד בשבא לישתרי דלא אתא אליהו בשבת. האי תנא ספוקי מספקא ליה אי יש תחומין או אין תחומין ולחומרא.

However he is prohibited to drink wine all days of the week. Accordingly, if you said that (the prohibition of Shabbat) limits applies (above a handbreadth) that is permitted (because) on Shabbat and Festivals he is permitted (to drink wine). But if you say that there are no limits for Shabbat and Festivals, why is he permitted? It is different as stated: “Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet” (Mal 3:23). Since Elijah will not come before (the Messiah will not come today, and he may drink wine). If so, he should be permitted everyday (to drink wine) as Elijah did not arrive the previous day. Rather we say (that Elijah may have) arrived at the Great Court (but it has not become public knowledge) on the Shabbat eve. Here too we should say (that Elijah) arrived (the previous day) at the Great Court. It has been promised to the Jewish people that Elijah will not come either on Shabbat eve or on the eve of a Festival due to the trouble (because the people go out to greet him and cannot have time to complete the preparations for the Shabbat). It might enter in your mind that Elijah did not come as the Messiah, on Shabbat eve and should be permitted (to drink). Elijah will not arrive, but the Messiah may arrive, because when the Messiah comes, all will be subservient to the Jewish people. He should be permitted (to drink wine) on Sunday. Let us resolve from here (that the

prohibition of Shabbat) limits did not apply as if limits apply on Sunday he should be permitted as Elijah cannot come on Shabbat. This tanna is uncertain if there is a limit or not.

In this text there are some halakhic problems that are tied to the limits of the Shabbat. Before this discussion in this tractate Eruvin, the Sages discuss the limit of walkable distance in day of Shabbat. Now the question is, if it is possible to drink wine on all weekdays. The Gemara asserts that it is permitted to drink wine only for Shabbat and Festivals because the Messiah will not arrive outside the limits of Shabbat. What is the motive? The Gemara answers according to what is written:

הנהגה אנכי שלח לכם את אליה הנביא לפני בוא יום יהיה הגדול והנורא²⁴ והשיב לב־אבות על־בנים ולב בנים על־אבותם פן־אבוא והכיתי את־הארץ חרם

“Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he will turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to the fathers. Lest I’ll come and strike the Land with destruction”, (Mal 3:23-24).

Since Elijah will come before the Messiah, it means that today the Messiah did not come, and it will be possible to drink wine. The Gemara disagrees with this assumption, because in this case it would be possible to drink wine every day. However, the prohibition for drinking wine for weekdays is justified because Elijah may arrive on the eve of Shabbat or Festivals at the Great Court and not appear in public. The Gemara answers that Elijah will not come on the eve of Shabbat or the Festivals because when he arrives, there will be many people to welcome him and they would be distracting to the day of Shabbat; likely the Messiah will not arrive on Shabbat eve. However, in the case that the Messiah will come on Shabbat eve, all nations will be subjected to him, and they may prepare for Shabbat. The Gemara raises another question about the possibility of drinking wine on Sunday. If Elijah will not come on Shabbat, the Messiah cannot arrive on Sunday. The Gemara answers that this tanna is uncertain about all these prohibitions in the day of Shabbat, because they are ruled rigorously.

According to A. Ferguson,⁴⁸⁷ this baraita has a double scenario because it is tied to the limits of the Shabbat law, and he supposes that the second part of this baraita is very ambiguous because it appears contradictory. Indeed, a person cannot take a drink of wine on Shabbat eve because the Messiah might appear on Shabbat eve and Elijah comes before the day of Shabbat eve. Moreover, if Elijah does not come, neither will the Messiah come.

5.4.4.9. Berakhot 58a

רבי ששת סגי נהור הוה קאזלי כולי עלמא לקבולי אפי מלכא וקם אזל בהדייהו רב ששת אשכחיה ההוא מינא אמר ליה חצבי לנהרא כגני לייא אמר ליה תא חזי דידענא טפי מינך הלף גונדא קמיייתא כי קא אוושא אמר ליה ההוא מינא אתא

⁴⁸⁷ A. FERGUSON, “The Elijah Forerunner Concept as an Authentic Jewish Expectation,” *Journal Biblical Literature* 137/1 (2018) 143.

מלכא אמר ליה רב ששת לא קאתי חלף גונדא תניינא כי קא אוושא אמר ליה ההוא מינא השתא קא אתי מלכא אמר ליה רב ששת לא קא אתי מלכא חליף תליתאי כי קא שתקא אמר ליה רב ששת ודאי אשתא אתי מלכא. אמר ליה החוא מינא מנא לך הא אמר ליה דמלכותא דארעא כעין מלכותא דרקיעא דכתיב צא ועמדת בהר לפני ה והנה ה עבר ורוח גדולה וחזק מפרק הרים ומשבר סלעים לפני ה לא ברוח ה ואחר הרוח רעש לא ברעש ה ואחר הרעש אש לא באש ה ואחר האש קול דממה דקה. כי אתא מלכא פתח רב ששת וקא מברך ליה אמר ליה ההוא מינא למאן דלא חזית ליה קא מברכת ומאי הוי עליה דההוא מינא איכא דאמרי חברוהי כחלינהו לעיניה ואיכא דאמרי רב ששת נתן עיניו בו ונעשה גל של עצמות.

Rav Sheshet was blind. Everyone went to greet the king and Rav Sheshet stood up and went with them. The heretic found him and said: the jugs (go) to the river, where do broken (jugs) go? He said to him: Come and see those that I know more that you (do). The first troop passed and when the noise grew louder, the heretic said to him: the king is coming. Rav Sheshet said to him: he is not coming. The second troop passed and when the noise grew louder, the heretic said to him: the king is coming. Rav Sheshet said to him: he has not come. The third troop passed and when the silence grew, Rav Sheshet said to him: the king is coming. Said to him: How do you know he? Said to him: Royalty on the earth is like royalty in the heavens as it is written: "He said: Go out and stand on the mountain before the Lord. And behold the Lord passed by and a great and strong wind tore in the mountains and broke the rocks in pieces before the Lord. But the Lord was not in the wind. After the wind an earthquake but the Lord was not in the earthquake. After the earthquake a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire. After the fire a still small voice" (1 Kgs 19:11-13). When the king came, Rav Sheshet blessed him. The heretic said to him: Do you bless someone that you do not see? What happened to the heretic? Some say that Rav Sheshet fixed his gaze upon him and he became a pile of bones.

The Gemara relates about Rav Sheshet that was blind and everyday went to greet the king. One day a heretic man provocatively questioned him in which he would like to know where he should bring the broken jugs if the intact jugs were brought to the river, or rather why a blind person goes to see the king. Rav Sheshet showed the heretic that even though he was blind, he knew the sounds of troops passing and whether the king was present. During the passing of first and second troops, there was noise, but when the third troops passed and there was silence, Rav Sheshet said that the king was coming. The heretic asked him how he knew this. Rav Sheshet explained to the heretic that as Elijah on the Horeb waited for the Lord, and God was neither in the wind, nor in the earthquake, and nor in the fire, but God was in a soft murmuring sound (1 Kgs 19:11-13). Likewise, with the king, because royalty on the Earth is like royalty in the Heavens. When Elijah felt the Shekinah, he wrapped his face and stood in a cave, in silence.

Moreover, when the king arrived, Rav Sheshet blessed him but the heretic sardonically asked him how it was possible to bless a person that is not seen. Rav Sheshet, fixed his gaze upon the heretic and he became a pile of bones. R. Kalmin⁴⁸⁸ argues that the story of Rav Sheshet is a paraphrase of the day of the Messiah, because the figure of the king is the expected Messiah or God himself. Moreover, even though Rav Sheshet is blind, he is also able to perceive with his senses what the

⁴⁸⁸ R. KALMIN, *Jewish Babylonian Between Persia and Roman Palestine* (New York, 2006) 100.

heretic does not see. However I would like opine that Rav Sheshet could be compared with Elijah the prophet, because in rabbinic thought Elijah is expected before the day of the Lord, and moreover sometimes he acts against people to defend the Sages.

5.4.4.10. Bava Metzi'a 85b

אמר רב הביבא אשתעי לי רב הביבא בר סורמקי חזי ליה ההוא מרבנן דהוה שכיח אליהו גביה דלצפרא הוּו שפירן עיניה ולאורתא דמיין כדמיקלין בנורא אמרי ליה מאי אה ואמר לי דאמרי ליה לאליהו אחוי לי רבנן כי סלקי למתיבתא דרקיע אמר לי בכולהו מצית אסתכולי בהו לבר מגוהרקא דרבי חייא דלא תסתכל ביה מאי סימנייהו בכולהו אזלי מלאכי כי סלקי ונחתי לבר מגוהרקא דרבי חייא דמנפשיה סליק ונחית.

Rav Ḥaviva said: Rav Ḥaviva bar Surmakei said to me: I saw one Sage whom Elijah would visit. His eyes were beautiful in the morning and were charred by fire in the evening. He said to him: What is that? He said to me: I said to Elijah: Show me the Sages in the vault of Heaven. He said to me: You may understand all of them, except the chariot of Rabbi Ḥiyya upon whom you may not gaze. What are the signs? Angels accompany all as they ascend and descend, except the chariot of Rabbi Ḥiyya that ascends and descends of its own accord.

Rabbi Ḥaviva said that one day, Rabbi Ḥaviva bar Surmakei told him that he saw one of the Sages that the prophet Elijah visited. This Sage had beautiful eyes in the morning, but in the evening he was charred. Rabbi Ḥaviva asked Rabbi Ḥaviva bar Surmakei what is the reason of this phenomenon. Rabbi Ḥaviva bar Surmakei asked Elijah to show him the Sages in the heavenly academy. Elijah said that he could look at all of them except the chariot of Rabbi Ḥiyya. At this point, Rabbi Ḥaviva asked Elijah what was the sign that distinguished the chariot of Rabbi Ḥiyya from the others. Elijah told him that the Angels conduct the Sages in their chariots, except for Rabbi Ḥiyya that for his greatness ascended and descended freely. As K.H. Lindbeck observes⁴⁸⁹ in this talmudic episode, Elijah is a secondary figure because the angels are means of transportation, instead Elijah is a guide or advisor. Elijah is not portrayed as a colleague of Sages, but he seems a source of supernatural information. The most important figure is Rabbi Ḥiyya and his powers.

5.4.4.11. Bava Metzi'a 85b

אליהו הוה שכיח במתיבתא דרבי יומא חד ריש ירחא הוה נגה ליה ולא אתא אמר ליה מאי טעמא נגה ליה למר אמר ליה אדאוקימנא לאברהם ומשינא ידיה ומצלי ומגנינא ליה וכן ליצחק וכן ליעקב ולוקמינהו בהדי הדדי סברי תקפי ברחמי ומייתי ליה למשיח בלא זמניה. אמר ליה ויש דוגמתן בעולם הזה אמר ליה איכא רבי חייא ובניו גזר רבי תעניתא אחתינהו לרבי חייא ובניו אמר משיח הרוח ינשבה זיקא אמר מוריד הגשם ואתא מיטרא כי מטא למימר מחיה המתים רגש עלמא.

⁴⁸⁹ K.H. LINDBECK, *Elijah and the Rabbi* (New York, 2010) 15, 61.

אמרי ברקיעא מאן גלי רזיא בעלמא אמרי אליהו אתיוהו לאליהו מהיוהו שתין פולסי דנורא אתא אידמי להו כדובא דנורא
על בינייהו וטרדינהו.

Elijah was found in the academy of Rabbi. One day was a New Moon, he was delayed and he did not come (to the academy). (Rabbi said) For what reason the Master did not come? (Elijah) Said to him: I (had) to wake up Abraham, wash his hands then he prays and then lay him down. Similarly (I did it) for Isaac and similarly for Jacob. Let them wake together. I understood that they generated powerful prayers and brought the Messiah before his time. (Rabbi) asked to him (Elijah): Is there anybody in this world like them? (Elijah) Said to him: There are Rabbi Ḥiyya and his sons. Rabbi decreed a fast and Rabbi Ḥiyya and his sons were brought down. (Rabbi Ḥiyya) recited a prayer (of the Amida): who make the wind blow, and the wind blew. Who makes the rain fall, and the rain fell. When he said: Who revives the dead, the world trembled. They said in the heaven: Who is the revealer of the secrets of the Lord in the world? They said: Elijah. Elijah was brought on high and he was beaten with sixty fiery lashes. He came among (the congregation) and distracted them (to the prayer).

The Gemara tells that often Elijah was in the Academy of Rabbi Yehuda Ha Nasi. It happened that one-day Elijah did not go to the Academy because it was New Moon.⁴⁹⁰ When Elijah arrived, Rabbi Yehuda Ha Nasi asked to him for what reason he was delayed. Elijah said to him that he had woken up Abraham and washed his hands to pray and then layed him down. Likewise, Elijah did this with Isaac and then Jacob. Rabbi asked to Elijah whether he had woken them together. Elijah said that he woke the Patriarchs in turn because if they pray at the same time, they are able to pray so powerfully that the Messiah will come prematurely. The Rabbi demanded Elijah if in the world there was somebody who is comparable to the Patriarchs, in the sense that he could produce a similar prayer. Elijah said that there were Rabbi Ḥiyya and his sons. The Rabbi proclaimed a fast and the Sages brought Rabbi Ḥiyya and his sons to the Academy. When Rabbi Ḥiyya recited the Amida⁴⁹¹ and pronounced the phrase in which he asked that the wind blew, the wind blew, likewise when he asked that the rain to fall, the rain fell. But when he recited that the dead live again, the world trembled. In the Heaven they wondered who had revealed this secret in the world, and they understood that it was Elijah. Immediately, Elijah was brought to Heaven and he was beaten with sixty fiery lashes. Then, Elijah came back to the earth disguised as a bearer of fire and went in the congregation to distract them from prayer, especially Rabbi Ḥiyya from reciting the phrase in which the resurrection of the dead was invoked.

⁴⁹⁰ According to Isaiah 66:23, the New Moon is a time propitious for prayer.

⁴⁹¹ See T. SCARSO, *Gesù e la Preghiera Ebraica nel racconto dei Vangeli* (Ragusa, 2016) 52. The Amida is prayed after the Shema, and it is a central point of Jewish Prayer. It is also named Tefillah, and Shemoneh-Esreh. The Amida is prayed three times of day. In this account, Rabbi Ḥiyya was praying the Second Blessing of the Amida (Gevurot).

Elijah is powerful in the World to Come, and he is able to stay on the earth to help the Sages, but this time, he exaggerated in his role and he was punished. K.H. Lindbeck⁴⁹² argues that in this story Elijah appears as a courtier in the domain of Rabbi Yehuda Ha Nasi. This assertion is most important because Elijah is again put in a secondary place. However, when Elijah explains that he had to wake up the Patriarchs, he gains his importance because in the heavenly academy he has an important role and he also has a freedom of action and he knows heavenly secrets. When Elijah reveals to the Sages that the prayer of Rabbi Hiyya and their sons is useful to force the coming of the Messiah, Elijah is punished and led away from the congregation.⁴⁹³

5.4.4.12. Bava Metzi'a 114a-b

אשכחיה רבה בר אבוב לאליהו דקאי בבית הקברות של נכרים אמר ליה מהו שיסדרו בבעל חוב אמר ליה גמר מיכה מיכה מערכין גבי ערכין כתיב ואם מך הוא מערכך גבי בעל חוב כתיב וכי ימוך אחיך. מנין לערום שלא יתרום דכתיב ולא יראה בך ערות דבר. אמר ליה לאו כהן הוא מר מאי טעמא קאי מר בבית הקברות אמר ליה לא מתני מר טהרות דתניא רבי שמעון בן יוחי אומר קבריהן של נכרים אין מטמאין שנאמר ואתן צאני צאן מרעיתי אדם אתם אתם קרויין אדם ואין נכרים קרויין אדם. אמר ליה בארבעה לא מצינא בשיתא מצינא אמר ליה ואמאי אמר ליה דחיקא לי מילתא דבריה ועייליה לגן עדן אמר ליה פשוט גלימך ספי שקול מהני טרפי ספא שקל. כי הוה נפיק שמע דקאמר מאן קא אכיל לע;מיה כרבה בר אבוב נפץ שדנהו אפילו הכי אתייה לגלימיה סחט גלימא ריחא זבניה בתריסר אלפי דינרי פלגינהו לחתנוותיה.

Rabba bar Avuh found Elijah standing in a graveyard of Gentiles. He said to him: What is the arrangement for a debtor? (Elijah) said to him: it derives from (the term) “poor.” Poor (written in a context) of valuations, as written: “If he is too poor to pay your valuations” (Lev 27:8), with regard a creditor as written: “If one of your brethren becomes poor” (Lev 25:35). From where (derived with regard) to a naked person that he cannot separate teruma? As it is written: “He may see no unclean thing among you” (Deut 23:15). Said to him: Is Master not a priest? What means that the Master standing in a graveyard? (Elijah) Said to him: The Master has not studied (the order of) Teharot? It is taught that Rabbi Shimon ben Yoḥai said: the graves of Gentiles do not render impure, as stated: “You are my flock, the flock of My pasture; you are men” (Ezek 34:31); (it means that) you are called “man” but the Gentiles are not called “man.” (Rabba bar Avuh) Said to him: I cannot be (proficient) in four (orders of the Mishna), can (I be learned in) all six? (Elijah) Said to him: Why? Said to him: the matter (of a livelihood is) pressing for me. Elijah led him and brought him into the Garden of Eden and said to him: Remove your cloak, gather up and take these leaves. Rabbi gathered and took them. When he was exiting, he heard a voice: Who consumes his World to Come like Rabba bar Avuh? He spread and threw away. When he brought his cloak back, he known that the cloak absorbed a good scent from the leaves that he sold for twelve thousand dinars. He divided the sum among his sons-in-law.

In this account the Gemara relates about a discussion between Elijah and Rabba bar Avuh. One day Rabba found Elijah in a graveyard of gentiles and asked Elijah what was the halakha which ruled the arrangements for a debtor. Indeed this question collects a set of laws that are very complex, however

⁴⁹² K.H. LINDBECK, *Elijah and the Rabbi* (New York, 2010) 15, 118.

⁴⁹³ K.H. LINDBECK, *Elijah and the Rabbi* (New York, 2010) 15, 48.

Elijah pointed out the meanings of poverty, because according to Leviticus 25:35 it is necessary to sustain a poor man as a stranger or a guest. Rabba again asked a question of Elijah and demanding him where one presumes that a naked person cannot separate *teruma*.⁴⁹⁴ Elijah said that according to Deuteronomy 23:15, the Lord must not find people unseemly, therefore it was prohibited to be naked to separate *teruma* or to recite the blessing. Rabba continued to ask questions of Elijah and asked him if a Master is a priest, and for what motive the Master was in a gentile cemetery. These two questions are very important because it highlights the figure of the Master that is complex because in the Talmud this epithet is used to designate an honorific name that the student uses with regard to his teacher; or it is a title used to reference a Sage who does not have the title of Rav. But it is also used to designate a priest. B. Shaver⁴⁹⁵ asserts that in this folktale priestly lineage of Elijah is emphasized, because Rabba bar Avuh gives Elijah a priestly title, and then Elijah answers as a Sage showing full knowledge of the Torah.⁴⁹⁶ In rabbinic literature Elijah is also labelled as a priest and Sages compared him to Phinehas. However, the Torah is uncertain about the priesthood of Elijah. Returning to our story, Elijah answered these questions saying that in a baraita, Rabbi Shimon ben Yoḥai said that the graves of the gentiles were not impure as written: ואתן צאני צאן מרעייתי אדם אתם “You are my flock, the flock of My pasture are men” (Ezek 34:31). About this answer of Elijah there are uncertain opinions of why Elijah was permitted to enter in a graveyard of Gentiles because it is not impure since the bodies when they are buried, stayed under the same roof. Moreover, in the quotation of the prophet Ezekiel the term “man” (*adam*) is used to include only Jewish people, because the expression “the man” (*ha-Adam*) is both applicable to Gentiles and Jews.

Naturally this distinction is valid for a halakhic context, because according to Numbers 19:14 אדם כי־מות באהל “If a man dies in a tent”, the impurity is applicable only to Jews. The dialogue between Elijah and Rabba continued and the latter revealed to Elijah that he was no more proficient in all six orders of the Mishna, but he studied the first four. Elijah brought him to the Garden of Eden and invited him to remove his cloak and gather the leaves that were around. Rabba took the leaves and when he was exiting, a voice declared: who else consumed his World to Come like Rabba bar Avuh that took his merit in the world. He spread out his cloak and threw away the leaves, but when he brought his cloak back and discovered that it had absorbed a good scent from the leaves that he sold

⁴⁹⁴ The Teruma is referred to Deuteronomy 18:4 in which is commanded that a portion of the produce must be designated to the priests. The Teruma is considered sacred and can be eaten only by the priest and his lineage. Today the Teruma exists even though it is not given to the priests, because a priestly lineage did not exist, but the obligation to separate a small portion of product remains.

⁴⁹⁵ J.B. SHAVER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of Second Temple Period* (Chicago, 2001) 222-223.

⁴⁹⁶ K.H. ZETTERHOLM, “Elijah and the Books of Kings in Rabbinic Literature,” in B. HALPERN – A. LEMAIRE, eds., *The Book of the Kings* (Leiden, 2010) 601.

it for twelve thousand dinars. Rabba knew that it was a portion of the World to Come, and he decided to divide the profits of his sale with his sons-in-law.

In this story the figure of Elijah is significant because Elijah has a different approach to the halakha than the Sages. This theme was dealt with above, and now it is reiterated that a Sage has more capacity in the halakhic resolution. However, Elijah shows Rabba bar Avuh the World to Come because he suffers his limits in the present. Once again Elijah takes care of his Sages encouraging them in their tasks.

5.4.5. The multiplicity of Elijah in the Babylonian Talmud

Like Moses, Elijah is also a polyhedric figure but in different way because Elijah has diverse roles. He appears like human and heavenly figure, his deathless allows him to travel among heaven and earth. Elijah is more than an angel because he takes part in punishment to sinner after their death. Indeed, about punishments it is written that “Elijah writes and God signs” (*b. Qidd. 70a*). However, according to the Sages, Elijah will not come to declare that which is pure and impure, but he will bring justice (*b. Qidd. 71a*). According to K.H. Lindbeck⁴⁹⁷ in the Talmud, Elijah does not come to whoever invoke him for help and does not appear in response a prayer to God, but sometimes he comes on earth, and sometime does not. Elijah is unpredictable. He is free to act and for this reason he reveals heavenly secrets. Really Elijah stays in heaven with Patriarchs and he serves them daily for ablution before to pray.

However, the revelation of divine secrets causes him to be punished on the heavens (*b. B. Bat. 75a*). Elijah is a mediator between men and God even though he performs miracles especially with Sages. And K.H. Lindbeck⁴⁹⁸ notes that this role strengthens rabbinic belief according to which the study of the Torah under Sages is better to get to God and His kingdom. He helps Rav Kahana to not commit adultery (*b. Qidd. 40a*), he defends Sages from Roman suffering of a martyr, even though God allows martyrdom of Rabbi Aqiva (*b. Menah. 29b*). However Elijah informs Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai and Rabbi Eleazar about the death of Roman emperor so that they can leave the cave (*b. Šabb. 33b*). Elijah disguised himself as a Roman nobleman to help Rabbi Eleazar ben Perata against one unfaithful Jew. In this way, Elijah is able to save the life of the Sage (*b. 'Avod. Zar. 17b*). Elijah accomplishes miracles on the life of the Sages and in their personal life (*b. Qidd. 40a*). He makes them respect the mitzvot even though sometimes they can be transgressed (*b. Yebam. 90b*). Elijah often speaks like a Sage in his discussions with Sages, he shows a full knowledge of the Torah, and

⁴⁹⁷ K.H. LINDBECK, *Elijah and the Rabbi* (New York, 2010) 49.

⁴⁹⁸ K.H. LINDBECK, *Elijah and the Rabbi* (New York, 2010) 141.

he encourages Sages to their life. In Talmud Elijah is labelled priest (*b. B. Meši'a* 114a-b) and like notes A. Wiener,⁴⁹⁹ Elijah was a levite and with Moses, they are two great prophets that descendant of the house of Levi. Elijah has different peculiarities than Moses because while Moses is often named on halakhic questions, Elijah comes to stay with the Sages, he speaks with them and personally clarifies rabbinical disputes.

5.4.6. Moses and Elijah in the Talmud Babylonian

5.4.6.1. Sukkah 5a

ותניא רבי יוסי אומר מעולם לא ירדה שכינה למטה ולא עלו משה ואליהו למרום שנאמר השמים שמים לה והארץ נתן לבני אדם. ולא ירדה שכינה למטה והכתיב וירד ה' על הר סיני למעלה מעשרה טפחים והכתיב ועמדו רגליו ביום ההוא על הר הזיתים למעלה מעשרה טפחים. ולא עלו משה ואליהו למרום והכתיב ומשה עלה אל האלהים למטה מעשרה והכתיב ויעל אליהו בסערה השמים למטה מעשרה והכתיב מאחז פני כסא פרשו עליו עננו ואמר רבי תנחום מלמד שפירש שדי מזיו שכינתו ועננו עליו למטה מעשרה.

It is taught: Rabbi Yosei said: The Shekinah never descends below, and Moses and Elijah never ascended to (heaven) on High, as written: "The heavens even the heavens are the Lord. But He has given the earth to the children of men" (Ps 115:16). And did the Shekinah never descend below (ten handbreadths)? But it is written: "And the Lord came down upon the Mount Sinai?" (Exod 19:20). Above ten handbreadths. It is not written: "In that day His feet will stand on the Mount of Olives" (Zech 14:4). Above ten handbreadths (by the ground). And did Moses and Elijah ever ascend to (the heavens) on High? Is it not written: "And Moses went up to God" (Exod 19:3). Below ten (handbreadths). Is it not written: "And Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven" (2 Kgs 2:11). Below ten (handbreadths). Is it not written: "He covers the face of His throne, and spread His cloud over it" (Job 26:9). Rabbi Tanḥum said: It teaches that the Almighty spread the radiance of His Shekinah and His cloud upon him. Below ten (handbreadths).

In this baraita Moses and Elijah appear together. The context of the baraita concerns the importance of measures, especially those that regarding height, because according to the Sages, God is in a celestial sphere, and man in an earthly sphere. These two domains are separated even though God reveals Himself, because the person rests in his domain that is ten handbreadths⁵⁰⁰ over the ground. Therefore, God always stays beyond the domain of the man. Rabbi Yosei raises a question about the revelation of God to Moses and Elijah, because for Rabbi Yosei, God never descended to the earth and Moses and Elijah never ascended to heaven. In fact it is written: השמים שמים ליהוה והארץ נתן לבני־אדם:

⁴⁹⁹ A. WIENER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Development Judaism* (London, 1978) 45.

⁵⁰⁰ The handbreadth (*tefaḥim*) is the width of a clenched fist. It is a variable measure to 8-9.6 cm. Ten-handbreadth form a *rašut* that is a halakhic measure.

“The heaven, are the heavens to the Lord, and He has given the earth to the children of men”, (Ps 115:16).

The Gemara asks how it is possible that the Shekinah never descended below ten handbreadths if it is written that וירד יהוה על־הר סיני “The Lord came down upon Mount Sinai” (Exod 19:20). Really God rested ten handbreadths above the ground. The Gemara asks again how it is possible if it is written that ועמדו רגליו ביום־ההוא על־הר הזתים “In that day, His feet will stand on the Mount of Olives”, (Zech 14:4). But the Gemara answers that God will stay ten handbreadths above the ground. Still, the Gemara raises a question because it is written that ומשה עלה אל־האלהים “Moses went up to God”, (Exod 19:3), and also ויעל אליהו בסערה השמים “Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven”, (2 Kgs 2:11). About this last assertion the Rabbi noted that Elijah went up towards heaven, and it means that it is not sure that he reached heaven. However, according to the Gemara both Moses and Elijah remained within ten handbreadths of the ground even though it is written that מאחז פני־כסה פרשו עליו עננו “He covers the face of His throne and spreads His cloud over it”, (Job 26:9). Rabbi Tanḥum asserts that this quotation of Job means that God spreads His Shekinah so that Moses was in the cloud with God.

E. Ben Eliyahu⁵⁰¹ asserts Sages created a ten-handbreadth interval (*rašut*) between heaven and earth to remove the concept of ascent to or descent from heaven or earth. In this way Sages contrast Christian tradition in which according to Zechariah 14:4, Jesus ascended from the earth and then he will return upon the Mount of Olives. So therefore, the Talmud bridges the statement of Rabbi Yosei and the biblical tales of Mount Sinai with a technical answer. This assertion is very interesting because also for K.H. Zetterholm,⁵⁰² Rabbi Yosei has an explicit dissent the ascent of Moses and Elijah. A. Wiener⁵⁰³ adduces that R. Yosei refuses an anthropomorphism of God and the deification of man. Rabbi Yosei read these tales in an allegoric sense, even though the death of Elijah is not attested anywhere. Finally, A. Yadin⁵⁰⁴ proposes that the Shekinah never descends on the earth crossing the halakhic boundary between one *rešut* to another.

5.4.6.2. Soṭah 13a

ומה עלישע מתלמידו של עליהו ואליהו תלמידו של משה צף ברזל מפניו מפני משה רבינו על אחת כמה וכמה.

⁵⁰¹ E. BEN ELIYAHU, “The Rabbinic Polemic against Sanctification of Sites,” *Journal for the Study* 40 (2009) 268.

⁵⁰² K.H. ZETTERHOLM, “Elijah and the Books of Kings in Rabbinic Literature,” in B. HALPERN – A. LEMAIRE, eds., *The Book of the Kings* (Leiden, 2010) 602.

⁵⁰³ A. WIENER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Development Judaism* (London, 1978) 50.

⁵⁰⁴ A. YADIN, “Shnei Ketuvim and Rabbinic Intermediation,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 33/1 (2002) 409.

Just as Elisha (was) a student of Elijah, Elijah (was) a student of Moses. As Elijah studied the Torah of Moses and was able to cause the iron (to) float before him, all the more so (would it float) before Moses our teacher.

This verse of the tractate *Soṭah* makes reference to the miracle of Elisha when a stick of iron floated in the water (2 Kgs 6:5-6). Indeed in the same context Sages put in parallel Moses and Elisha, and they assert that Moses unlike Elisha was a greater performer of miracles, but only if it was commanded by God. However, the Gemara explains that Elisha was a student of Elijah, and Elijah was a student of Moses, but not directly. Elijah learned the Torah of Moses and transmitted it to other people. The Gemara affirms that, as the iron floated before Elijah, all the more so it would float before Moses our teacher. According to this tale, Moses and Elijah appear complementary because Moses is the Teacher ‘par excellence’ and Elijah learns the Torah from Moses. However, Elijah has special gifts from the Lord, and he is a special man for his fear of God.

5.4.6.3. *Pesaḥim* 54a

תניא עשרה דבים נבראו בערב שבת בין השמשות אלו הן באר והמנן וקשת כתב ומכתב והלוחות וקברו של משה ומערה שעמד בו משה ואליהו פתיחת פי האתון ופתיחת פי הערץ לבלוע את הרשעים.

Ten phenomena were created (in heaven) on Shabbat eve during twilight. They were: the well (of Miriam), manna, the rainbow, writing, and the writing instrument, and the tablets and the grave of Moses, and the cave in which Moses and Elijah stood, the opening of the mouth of the donkey (of Baalam), and the opening of the mouth of the earth to swallow the wicked.

In a baraita it is taught that on Shabbat eve ten miraculous phenomena were created. According to the Sages, because is written that *כל־חדש תחת השמש* “There is nothing new under the sun”, (Qo 1:9), these ten miraculous phenomena belong to the creation even though they were not immediately revealed. Therefore they are not new, but they are part of the primordial creation. These phenomena are: the well of Miriam, the manna that felt in the desert, the rainbow, writing and writing instruments, the tablets of Ten Words, the grave of Moses and the cave in which Moses and Elijah stood, the opening of the mouth of the donkey of Balaam and the opening of the earth to swallow the wicked. According to the Sages, writing (*ketav*) is refers to the written alphabet used for the Table of Commandments, while writing instruments (*mikhtav*) could refer to the letters that Elijah sent to King Jehoram. These letters are miraculous because Jehoram received them, when Elijah had already

ascended to heaven (2 Chr 21:12). Then the baraita adds the grave of Moses because according to Deuteronomy 34:6 nobody knows the place in which Moses was buried, except God.

5.4.6.4. Berakhot 9b

אהיה אשר אהיה אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא למשה לך אמור להם לישראל אני הייתי עמכם בשעבוד זה ואני אהיה עמכם בשעבוד מלכיות. אמר ליפניו רבונו של עולם דיה לצרה בשעתה אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא לך אמור להם אהיה שלחני אליכם. ענני ה ענני אמר רבי אבהו למה אמר אליהו ענני שתי פעמים מלמד שאמר אליהו לפני הקדוש ברוך הוא רבונו של עולם ענני שתדד אש מן השמים ותאכל כל אשר על המזבח ו ענני שתסיח דעתם כדי שלא יאמרו מעשה כשפים הם שנאמר ואתה הסבת את לבם אחרנית.

“I will be that I will be.” The Holy One Blessed be He said to (Moses), to go and to say to Israel: I was with you in your enslavement, and I will be with you in your enslavement of the kingdoms. (Moses) Said before Him: Master of the Universe, it is enough (for them to endure). (Let) the (future) suffering (be endured) at its (appointed time). The Holy (One) Blessed be He said to him: Go and say “I will be has sent me to you.” “Hear me o Lord, hear me” (1 Kgs 18:37). Rabbi Abbahu said: Why did Elijah say “Hear me” twice? It teaches that Elijah said before the Holy One Blessed be He, Master of the Universe: Hear me because the fire will descend from the heaven and consume everything on the altar. And “Hear me” because You will divert their mind so that they will say that they were acts of sorcery. As states (that Elijah said): “And You have turned their hearts backward.”

The Gemara discusses about the promise that God made to Moses in the burning bush as it is written: “I am who I am.” And He said ‘Thus you shall say to the children of Israel: I am has sent me to you’”, (Exod 3:14). According to the Gemara, this answer of God hides a double meaning because God declares his Name to Moses, then He suggests to Moses what words he must say to the people of Israel. Moses does not understand this duplicity of language; however it means that God was with the people of Israel during their enslavement and He also will be with the people in the future enslavement of the kingdom. In this case, God implicitly announces to Moses a double enslavement, but Moses said to God that it is better not to announce future sufferings to the people because the people are tried enough. God agrees with Moses. Starting with this example of double language, the Gemara explains the case of Elijah on Mount Carmel. Elijah must present the offering to God, he said ענני יהוה ענני “Hear me, o Lord, hear me”, (1 Kgs 18:37). Rabbi Abbahu asks the meaning of this double invocation, and then he asserts that the first time Elijah calls God because He will make fire descend from heaven, instead, the second time Elijah invokes the help of God so that He distracts the mind of the priests of Baal, to teach that it is an act of sorcery. It is the reason why Elijah says: ואתה הסבת את לבם אחרנית “You have turned their hearts back to You again”, (1 Kgs 18:37).

5.4.7. Conclusion

In these pages it has been possible to see that Moses and Elijah have crossed in selected parallel rabbinic literature. However their figures meet keeping their specific identities sometimes. Certainly, they appear complementary and not in competition because they are characterized by individual features.

Trying to investigate their stories it is relevant to note that some of these find their fullness in the Babylonian Talmud, because the tales take shape reaching their culmination. Therefore, starting from the Mishna and Tosefta, throughout the Palestinian Talmud, until we arrive at the Babylonian Talmud there is a constant evolution. That situation it is not for all tales, but only for some.

Tracing separately the trajectories of Moses and Elijah across the Talmudim, there are some points in common, but others delineate two different paths. My considerations in this place are related to what the Sages highlight about Moses and Elijah. Therefore, my perception is tied to their accounts and their interpretations of the Scripture.

First of all, the Sages place Moses and Elijah on a virtual hierarchy because Moses is defined Master and Elijah student of Moses. In fact, even though Elijah will come to disclose all that is hidden, he cannot reveal what Moses has kept secret (*m. 'Ed. 8:7; t. 'Ed. 3:4*). According to the Sages, students must respect their teacher because the Master is the image of God (*y. Šeb. 6:1; y. Bik. 3:3; b. Qidd. 33b*). Throughout these pages, the history of the Golden Calf is repeated (*m. Meg. 4:10; t. Meg. 3:36; y. Ta'an. 4:5*) especially the second history that is read but not interpreted. Here it is interesting to note that Moses is placed in the middle between the people and Aaron. The role of Moses is to calm the wrath of God, and Moses intercedes with God, for the Israelites and for Aaron who is unable to manage the people. Both histories point out the relationship between Moses and God.

The relationship between Moses and God is one of most important points about Moses in rabbinic literature. Moses has a strong union with God, it could be compared to a spousal relationship in fact on the Sinai (*b. Šabb. 87a*), the Lord asks Moses to stay with him and not to return from Zipporah. Contrarily, God orders to the Israelites to go down to their tents, because he wants stays alone with Moses (Deut 5:30) and speaks with him פה אל־פה “mouth to mouth”, (Numb 12:8).

The Sages stress the correlation between God and Moses, but it is linked to the revelation of the Torah. Moses holds the full revelation, and the Sages try to enter in that correlation through the study of the Torah. However, Moses had several theophanic experiences, and he has always been in the presence of God with the Shekinah.

In these pages, the chain of transmission of the Torah is often emphasized. However, the chain starts with God who speaks with Moses and this latter to others until it arrives to the people. The links

of this chain are not always the same apart from Moses and God (*m. 'Abot* 1:1; *t. 'Ed.* 1:1; *b. 'Erub.* 54b). It implies that the Torah is conveyed through different channels and ways.

Notwithstanding, in the talmudic tales, Moses does not come to meet the Sages or to speak with them. Moses appears as a model for the Sages and like a person who does not interact with the Sages.

This last point marks the difference with Elijah, because Elijah meets the Sages, he resolves halakhic applications (*y. Ber.* 9:1), he performs miracles (*b. 'Abod. Zar.* 17b; *b. Qidd.* 40a), he takes care of the Sages (*b. B. Meši'a* 114a-b), he brings peace and justice (*m. 'Ed.* 8:7; *t. 'Ed.* 3:4; *b. Qidd.* 71a) and he resurrects the dead (*m. Soṭah* 9:15; *t. Soṭah* 13:2).

The Sages give Elijah particular roles that are more different than Moses. Elijah enters into relationship with the Sages, he interacts with them, in their life, helping the Sages in their daily affairs. Elijah knows the transcendent, and he also knows the secrets of the Heavenly Academy (*b. B. Meši'a* 85b), he is compared to an angel because he accomplishes actions reserved for the angels (*b. Qidd.* 70a). Elijah holds the keys of the rain, dew, the resurrection from death and the key for a woman in childbirth. Nobody was ever charged to hold all these keys at the same time (*b. Sanh.* 113a).

All these tasks are more relevant because Elijah has a strong power in the world and in the world to come. Therefore, on the one hand there is Moses who is the symbol of the Sage, the lawgiver, the prophet, the father, the judge, and especially the holder of the revelation, on the other hand, there is Elijah who performs miracles, he is prophet, he helps the Sages, he knows the celestial secrets. Both Moses and Elijah are considered as levites,⁵⁰⁵ (Exod 2:1-10; Numb 17:23; Numb 26:59; 1 Kgs 18; 1 Chr 23:14) and they had officiated as High Priests,⁵⁰⁶ and they had theophanic experiences.

They are not only the symbols of the Torah and the Prophets, but they have a special role with God, because both have a transcendental life. Elijah seems to be a mystical figure because in his stories he performs supernatural actions. K.H. Lindbeck⁵⁰⁷ opines that Elijah as a supernatural being represents God's help, instead as a human being, he mediates the help of God and His justice. In fact in the Babylonian Talmud, Elijah has free individual choice integrated with deep knowledge of the will of God. Finally, in these pages I perceive Moses as a figure linked to the past and useful for understanding the Scriptures, instead Elijah is a figure in constant motion tied often to the future. Therefore, Moses appears solid in his intentions, Elijah is elusive, he is unsurprising.

⁵⁰⁵ See L. GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. 6 (Philadelphia, 1909-1938) 316-317; *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah* p. 98 n. 57; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 4.2.

⁵⁰⁶ See: *Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer* 29, p. 213; M.A. SWEENEY, Prophets and Priests in the Deuteronomistic History: Elijah and Elisha, in M.R. JACOBS – R.F. PERSON Jr., eds., *Israelite Prophecy and the Deuteronomistic History, Portrait, Reality, and the Formation of a History*, Ancient Israel and Its Literature, Society of Biblical Literature 14 (Atlanta, 2013) 36-41.

⁵⁰⁷ K.H. LINDBECK, *Elijah and the Rabbi* (New York, 2010) 143.

6. Conclusion

A set of questions led the present research: who are Moses and Elijah in the Qumran texts and in the Rabbinic writings? How were they perceived in the corresponding redactional milieus? How were they seen in the light of collective and cultural memory? Do they retain the same specific characteristics? Are they contrasting, in competition or complementary? Do they appear together or separately? All questions that need to be answered.

However, before proceeding it is appropriate to explain the concept of tradition that many scholars associate with a continuum of ideas. This is because the relationship of Moses and Elijah in the *longue durée* are usually considered as a long and continual tradition from the Hebrew Bible until modern Theology. But the concept of tradition needs to be characterized. Indeed, M. Fishbane⁵⁰⁸ distinguishes *traditio* from *traditum*. He asserts that *traditum* is the reception of the text, while *traditio* is its interpretation. The double movement of *traditio* and *traditum* creates the tradition. According to M. Fishbane, the teachings found in the Scriptures were adapted and recontextualized over time, adapting them to new situations. Therefore, in our case, in the writings of Qumran and in the tannaitic material, the relationships between *traditum* and *traditio* are very explicit because the citations can be checked in the Hebrew Bible. It means, using the words of M. Fishbane, that: “each stage of *traditio*, the *traditum* was adapted, transformed, or reinterpreted”. This elucidation of M. Fishbane allows us to intuit Moses and Elijah in their particular textual landscapes. It means that these two figures show changes throughout the works because they are relevant to the literary environment of the moment.

As proofs, the formulas “it is written” or “the Torah of Moses” make explicit the relationship between *traditum* and *traditio*. In the Talmudim before a dispute, there are a lot of these introductory expressions. Likely in Qumran texts it is mainly used the expression “the Torah of Moses”. This argumentation is important because M. Fishbane⁵⁰⁹ asserts that in the Hebrew Bible it is possible to discern the *traditum* and *traditio* contrary to the Gospels, the Pauline writings and also the tannaitic sources that are all post-biblical traditions that share the ancient Israelite *traditum*. Thus, while the Gospels and the Pauline letters present a new continuous tradition with the Hebrew Bible because they use a new way of writing and present editorial remarks or theological interpolations, in the tannaitic sources there are not exegetical parts of *traditum*. Concerning this latter, the Hebrew Bible is a continuous link between *traditum* and *traditio*, and it is difficult to discern its strata. Therefore, the biblical exegesis implies this genre of interpretation while the Qumran texts and the Rabbinic writings deal with a different work of interpretation.

⁵⁰⁸ M. FISHBANE, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1985) 6.

⁵⁰⁹ M. FISHBANE, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1985) 10.

According to M. Fishbane,⁵¹⁰ biblical exegesis is tied to several stylistic models that have intervened in the time. Many exegetical techniques have been locally developed in Ancient Israel. These techniques have been receipted from the time of the monarchy until the Greco-Roman period, and then developed in the rabbinic circles. Therefore, in our case, there is analogy among the writings of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran and Rabbinics even though every corpus follows a combination of different styles at different periods. Nevertheless, some exegetical terms may have been taken by exegetes from a geographic area to another with different uses and understandings. For example, the Jewish communities living in Babylon welcomed Jewish writings with exegetical formulas borrowed by tradents and families. In this way the סופרים or early bookmen did not inherit only exegetical techniques, but they are the constructs of the social and historical strands. For example, Moses on the Sinai receiving two Torah(s) (one oral and one written) and the *Yahad* relating to the special exegetical revelation of the Teacher of Righteousness, we are in front of two diverse currents of thought concerning the revelation way. The first one belongs to the traditional Jewish world, the second one is tied to a small group of Jewish persons. However, the biblical exegetical writings that have come down to us, are the sum of redaction, copy, and reformulation from scribes who gave their personal interpretations corresponding to their personal experience of the texts. Therefore, the study of the texts written according to this scribal process show how the figures of Moses and Elijah actualize the diverse interpretations in correspondence with the context of the scribes.

Continuing gradually, in the Qumran documents, by analysing the texts pertaining to Moses and Elijah it is possible to establish that they have 1QS 9:11 and 11Q*Melchizedek* 2:15-21 in common. Alongside these texts there are other texts which function as corollaries, because these two texts are the common link with the expected prophet.

As shown in previous pages, Moses in 11Q*Melchizedek* may be identified as anointed of the spirit, because in 4Q377 he is labelled as messenger, herald, man of God and anointed one. All these names appear in 11Q*Melchizedek* even though the context marks the difference. In fact, while in 4Q377 there is a clear reference to Moses as prophet of the past, in 11Q*Melchizedek*, these titles are inserted in an eschatological context. Therefore, this text could be attributable to the new Moses.

Elijah is also identifiable as anointed of the spirit: in the fragments of 4Q521 2 ii and 2 iii, even though he is not directly mentioned, the texts have references to Malachi 3:22-24. Therefore, in the light of 4Q521, Elijah could be the anointed of the spirit that in 11Q*Melchizedek* is the messenger who announces salvation, comforts the afflicted and instructs people.

There is evidence for both Moses and Elijah to be the expected prophet of 1QS 9:11 but, while they are both attributable to 11Q*Melchizedek*, they have different starting points because Elijah in

⁵¹⁰ M. FISHBANE, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1985) 525-528.

Qumran is present in the eschatological context, while Moses is shown as a prophet of the past. For this reason, a new Moses or a new Elijah is expected.

Concerning the rabbinic writings, in *m. 'Eduyyot* 8:7, *t. 'Eduyyot* 3:4 and *b. Soṭah* 13a the same history is recounted but with dissimilarities. However, the important point is the position of Moses and Elijah. Indeed, the story revolves around Leviticus 24:10-14 and Malachi 3:23-24. According to the Sages, in *m. 'Eduyyot* 8:7, *t. 'Eduyyot* 3:4, Moses did not reveal the name of the *mamzerim* who was the Egyptian who had married a Hebrew woman, and Elijah, who will come to bring peace and justice, will not reveal what Moses kept hidden, because Elijah is a disciple of Moses. Later, in *b. Soṭah* 13a the hierarchical feature of the relationship between Moses and Elijah is stressed. However, it is worth looking at *y. Eruvin* 5:1 in which the Sages describe the approach of Moses and Elijah before the Shekinah. In Exodus 33:7-9 it is written that the Shekinah was present in the Tent, and everyone who sought the Lord went out to the Tent which was outside of the camp, and when Moses entered the Tent, ירד עמוד הענן “the pillar of cloud descended”, and the Lord talked with him. As for Elijah, the Sages tell that Elijah meets the Shekinah on Mount Horeb, even though Elijah says to himself חַי־הוּא אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר עֲמַדְתִּי לִפְנֵי “As the Lord God of Israel lives, before whom I stand”, (1 Kgs 17:1).

While in the biblical accounts we know that Moses and Elijah lived at the time of the Tent, in rabbinic thought the Sages went through the experience of the destruction of the Temple (70 C.E.). Elijah cannot be portrayed before the Shekinah in the Temple, and in *y. Bikkurim* 3:3 and *b. Qiddushin* 33b there is emphasis on respect for the elder, for the teacher, which recall the Presence of God. The Sages deduce this from Exodus 33:8, in which:

וְהָיָה כִּצְאֵת מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הָאֱהָל יִקְוּמוּ כָל־הָעָם וְנִצְבּוּ אִישׁ פֶּתַח אֹהֶלוֹ וְהִבִּיטוּ אַחֲרַי מִשֶּׁה עַד־בָּאוּ הָאֱהָלָה

“So it was, whenever Moses went out to the Tent, all the people would rise and stand, each at the entrance of his tent, and gaze after Moses until he had entered the Tent”.

According to the Sages, just as Elijah is the disciple of Moses and, in Moses, he sees the Presence of God, the same applies to every disciple with a teacher or an elder. This perspective does not diminish the figure of Elijah, because in Mishna and Tosefta the tanna'im put Moses and Elijah in parallel, and then the amora'im and the talmudic schools of Yerushalmi and Babylonian tried to describe the figures of Moses and Elijah in the light of the destruction of the Temple.

Many scholars have analysed the persons of Moses and Elijah in the writings of Qumran and many scholarly publications have been written. Unequivocally, every memory is subjective because each of us has a personal perception of reality and a personal perspective and interest. This explains the great variety of works produced by scholars. From a biblical point of view, Moses is linked to the Torah, and also the books of Joshua, Ezra and Nehemiah, while Elijah is only present in the books of

Kings and in Chronicles. Moses and Elijah then appear together in Malachi 3:22-24. Collective memory about Moses and Elijah draws its origins from the Hebrew Bible, but it is shaped by the cultural context. We have seen that in the Hebrew Bible Moses and Elijah are the result of a variety of roles which they practise within their historical and cultural environment. In fact, Moses and Elijah appear as prophets, men of God, intercessors, lawgivers, performers of miracles, but especially they are respectively indicated as Law and Prophets. Therefore, they have personal features but, at the same time, they are related. However, in Qumran and in Rabbinics there is a different perception of Moses and Elijah because it is adapted to the exigencies of the communities.

Proceeding step by step, in Qumran the *Yahad* thought it was living in the end of times and decided to withdraw to the desert studying the Torah and assuming a prophetic identity. In its texts the *Yahad* interprets past prophetic events, actualizing them in the present or in the very near future, conceived as the beginning of the eschatological period.⁵¹¹ This implies that Moses and Elijah were not perceived as figure of the past, but as belonging to the present or the future, i.e. the beginning of *eschaton*. Although in the Qumran texts Moses and Elijah are analysed for their prophetic role, there are the scrolls in which they are inserted into an eschatological context. In some Qumran texts a new Moses or a new Elijah is expected; this figure had to be an eschatological prophet with features of Moses or Elijah. Because even though the full revelation was given to Moses it was not revealed to men; but will be revealed from time to time by the prophets. This is the meeting point between these two prophetic figures. Moses and Elijah have different specific characteristics, but they are both linked in the figure of expected prophet.

The context of Rabbinics is different from that of Qumran because there is a cultic mutation with the destruction of the Temple and also a cultural and social reorganization. The Sages have new ways to produce knowledge. The Scriptures are discussed according to a new perception of the present, future and eschatology. From the earliest writings, Moses and Elijah have polyhedric features, but they are mentioned both alone and together. Moses is considered as a milestone of the rabbinic world and he is an archetype for his perfection in respect of the Torah.

Even when he acts wrongly, by not circumcising his son, the Sages justify him. In *y. Nedarim* 3:11 and *b. Nedarim* 31b-32a, it is Zipporah who will save Moses and his son from the angel of the Death. Even though there are conflicts between the two tales as told by the Sages, they agree that Moses did not circumcise his son because he was busy carrying out the will of God. Therefore, all the laws that God gave to Moses have to be accomplished. According to L.L. Edwards,⁵¹² the Sages

⁵¹¹ D. HAMIDOVIĆ, "L'eschatologie essénienne dans la littérature apocalyptique: temporalités et limites chronologiques," *Revue des Études Juives* 169 (2010) 37-55.

⁵¹² L.L. EDWARDS, "Rabbi Akiba's Crowns: Postmodern Discourse and the Cost of Rabbinic Reading," *Judaism* 49/4 (2004) 419.

are “facing in two directions at once”; meaning that Moses and Elijah are linked because one direction suggests Mount Sinai, so pointing to the past, while the other direction suggests the Day of the Messiah, that is the future and *eschaton*. From this perspective, Moses and Elijah are put together in Rabbinics. Elijah is the one who explains the halakha to the Sages. He knows transcendence and for that he surpasses human wisdom. He is pointed out as the student of Moses, but he will come to bring justice so the halakha will be accomplished. He has the role of aiding the Sages in their way and in their thoughts.

These considerations provide evidence that Moses and Elijah on the one hand are recognized in different ways in the Qumran texts and in the Rabbinic writings and on the other hand can be seen in parallel. The eschatological role of Elijah is affirmed as well that of Moses and his Torah. However, in the Qumran texts and Rabbinic writings, there are separate perceptions of both Moses and Elijah.

On the one hand, Moses and Elijah appear interchangeable in both corpuses, especially in relation to belief in the eschatological prophet to come, but on the other hand, the origin of the belief in a new Moses and in a new Elijah does not follow the same path because each text considering Moses and/or Elijah is based on different textual references i.e. different passages in the Hebrew Bible. The trajectories of Moses and Elijah in the Qumran texts attest to convergence of the two figures. This may be explained by the primacy of the expectation of an eschatological prophet (or a messianic prophet because the considered Qumran texts do not really differentiate) in the Essene belief. The *Yahad* appear to look for textual references to prove the imminence of the arrival of the eschatological prophet. Some texts of the Hebrew Bible relating to Moses and Elijah separately have been interpreted to create the *Yahad* tradition of the eschatological prophet, i.e. a combination of *tradio* and *tradio*.

Rabbinics also based consideration of Moses and/or Elijah on the Hebrew Bible but, taken as a whole, the selected extracts of the Rabbinic writings do not give the picture of one goal as in the Qumran texts. The Rabbinic discussions concerning Moses and/or Elijah are more directly related to the Hebrew Bible than the studied Qumran texts. The part of *tradio*, i.e. the reception of the text, here the Hebrew Bible, is more important than that of *tradio*, i.e. the interpretation of the text. The Rabbinic passages certainly interpret some texts of the Hebrew Bible relating to Moses and/or Elijah but they appear to stay closer to the Hebrew Bible’s texts and messages than to the Qumran texts. This difference between the two corpuses could be explained by the variety and diversity of the Rabbinic writings across a longer duration; however, on other topics the Rabbinic texts can show a strong continuity, as for example the eschatological time, the temple, the sacrifices etc. This means that the figures of Moses and Elijah are not really combined around a central idea as in the Qumran texts. The figure of Moses stays multivalent as in the Hebrew Bible. But Elijah does not appear to

have the same multivalency, as he appears more and more as the figure of the forerunner of the messiah. Such a trajectory is justified by using some references from the Hebrew Bible. In short, Moses remains a multi-tasker while Elijah is becoming the man with only one mission. The combination of *tradtum* and *tradtio* is different in each case: Moses in Rabbinics seems to remain in a *tradtum* perspective, assuming the tradition of the Hebrew Bible, while Elijah in the Rabbinics gradually takes on a *tradtio* perspective, more precisely a mono-*tradtio* perspective.

Another important aspect explaining the process of *tradtio* and *tradtum* is linked to the relationship between history and memory. Recently this crucial point has been developed by T.B. Williams⁵¹³ in a memorable book. He discusses historical and mnemonical implications in the antique writings, especially in the Qumran texts. The scholars try to access to knowledge of the past, but it is impossible because there are a lot of factors that revolve around an event or a historical figure. Considering a lot of scholarly works relating to memory and history T.B. Williams engaged scholarship to re-examine the Teacher of Righteousness in the texts of Qumran. In his close examination of the texts, he emphasizes the *pesharim* as compositions generated by interpretations. He concludes that this latter point does not allow to separate the literary-critical interpretation from the historical-critical interpretation. In the foregrounds he postulates the role of the “social memory” in which the collective memory was shielded by the biographical and historiographical writings. Memory is disturbed and modified by social, political, cultural, and ideological aspects, so much so that P.R. Davis⁵¹⁴ differentiates real history from cultural memory. In the first case are noted happened facts, in the second case are present histories linked to strengthen the group’s identity.

The theory of memory examines why the people remember some cases rather than others. In the circumstance of Qumran or in a group of people, the *Yahad*, we are in presence of “collective memory” that is the fruit of “individual memory”. The first memory is tied to a recent past and it contains various individual memories. Every person for each topic share his thought with the group and it is the collective memory that persists for 80-100 years or 3-4 generations according to T.B. Williams.⁵¹⁵ However, it is necessary to transmit this information with writings, rituals, and monuments to create the tradition. It corresponds to non-verbal processes which can be assimilated unconsciously. Therefore, history and memory are the two sides of the same coin.

Surely, memory is necessary for historical investigation even though it is not able to replace history. In the case of the Teacher of Righteousness, scholars suppose that the communicative memory is used, because the Teacher appears to be remembered by living memory after memory

⁵¹³ T.B. WILLIAMS, *History and Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge, 2019).

⁵¹⁴ P.R. DAVIES, “Between Text and Archaeology,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 18 (2011) 316-338.

⁵¹⁵ T.B. WILLIAMS, *History and Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge, 2019) 62-64.

belonging to eyewitnesses. According to J. Piaget,⁵¹⁶ when information arrives, it is integrated in mental schemes that the human mind has activated. Everyone has mental schemes that spring from cultural, sociological, and anthropological environment. However, our mind processes the information that are coded and inserted in cognitive structures. Not all information is catalogued but only those that is considered important. Naturally, prior knowledge determines the acquisition of information. Therefore, information is admitted based on his importance. It means that every person acquires information considered a priority putting it in an existent or new cognitive structure. Here, the information is further processed and then it is insert in memory and remembered not in its original phase but in his actual form. Indeed, about the Teacher of Righteousness, the *Yahad* intended remember some particularities of the Teacher and each member shared convenient information. This latter allows us to understand that we have only received the information that the *Yahad* intended utter.

T.B. Williams⁵¹⁷ supposed that the so-called memory carries by people transmitting the events. However, it is not so simple to know if witnesses transmitting a first memory or memories were present with the Teacher. But T.B. Williams uses demographic and socio-anthropological patterns to determine that at time of Teacher should have been there a considerable number of potential witnesses.⁵¹⁸ Moreover the question of witnesses is more complex. Indeed, it is supposed that the name of the Teacher could be a nickname or an epithet, and it could have existed many persons under the same expression “Teacher of Righteousness”. Likewise, the same question raises for the expression “Interpreter of the Law”.

In the meantime, he placed another important question concerning the Gospels and ancient Jewish writings: why does Jesus in the Gospels is named many times while in Rabbinic writings or Qumran texts rarely people are named? This is an eminent point, because Jesus is a pivotal figure of the Gospels that are written to emphasize him, while in Rabbinic writings and Qumran texts the central point is the Torah and his interpretations. Therefore, there is a different point of view that establishes new perspectives. In Rabbinic writings and Qumran texts, there are few details accounting personal life of people, only few anecdotes to explain the application of the Torah. Such conclusions emphasize many aspects at work behind the processes of writing and rewriting. One is the shaping of collective memory in Ancient Judaism.

Returning to Moses and Elijah, these latter insights give us a different perception of both figures because even though has been possible to observe their evolution in Biblical, Qumran and

⁵¹⁶ J. PIAGET, *La représentation du monde chez l'enfant* (Paris, 1926); J. PIAGET, *Le langage et la pensée chez l'enfant* (Paris, 1923); J. PIAGET, *La construction du réel chez l'enfant* (Paris, 1937); J. PIAGET – B. INHELDER, *L'Image mentale chez l'enfant : étude sur le développement des représentations imagées* (Paris, 1966).

⁵¹⁷ T.B. WILLIAMS, *History and Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge, 2019) 130.

⁵¹⁸ T.B. WILLIAMS, *History and Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge, 2019) 148.

Rabbinic writings on one hand, they are also part of the same cultural environment on the other hand. The case of Moses and Elijah is different than the example of the Teacher of Righteousness, but it is possible for some aspects what we see as analogies of motifs that it is the result of divergent strata of thought embedded in the same cultural context across the centuries.

Thus, the role of Moses and Elijah in some revelational moments is significant. These passages in their backgrounds try to articulate the idea of revelation from time to time and the present consideration of the new revelation. The hiatus leads the milieu to consider again the traditions according to their own context. Consequently, distinct currents of thought are developed with new sights. For example, in the tale of Rabbi Aqiva (*b. Menahot* 29b) in which he changes the interpretation of the Torah it is possible to be disoriented. Moses was amazed for the interpretation of Rabbi Aqiva because he added new laws at the Torah. However, in my opinion this tale discloses a new revelation. Rabbi Aqiva gave a new interpretation of the Torah, and he realizes what the psalmist says: “God has spoken once, twice I have heard this” (Ps 62:11). Therefore, the interpretation of these multiple texts leads to consider traditions and reconfigurations of traditions with an interpretation of the concept of revelation as guideline. My study of selected passages in the Qumran texts and in the Rabbinic writings has directed me to refine the concept of tradition and its dynamics according to each theological context.

Further studies could be interesting, for example on the other Apocryphal texts, the Karaite texts, and the first Christian texts including the New Testament.

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